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ETHNOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA

BY

ROBERT SHAFER

With 2 maps

1954

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PREFACE

The title of this work is intentionally misleading. There are probably many competent scholars in the world who will be interested in the ethnography of ancient India but who have never heard of the great Indian epic, the Mahābhārata, just as there are probably many good scholars in India who would be interested in the ethnography of ancient England but who never heard of the English epic, Beowulf, and who would never pick up a book with that word in its title.

The number of ethnic names in the vedas is extremely limited and unless the names recur in later literature we seldom find a clew to their significance. But the Great Epic of India contains the names of some 300 nations, tribes, or regions, and this work is confined to a study of these names. And since ethnic and linguistic changes were taking place in India during the several centuries that the epic was being composed, attention has been centered as much as possible on the period of the great war of the Mahābhārata. The lists of geographical names in the purāṇas is much more limited and generally much more corrupt than in the Great Epic. However, early Indian literature of all types was utilized here for pertinent data, and conclusions regarding the names in the Mahābhārata are based primarily on data to be found in Sanskrit literature.

Much of the Sanskrit literature and much of the later historical and ethnological work published in recent years in India was not available to the author. Under the circumstances it is hardly to be expected that a definitive answer can be offered here to all the problems encountered in such a study. Rather the aim has been to initiate the study of the ethnic composition of ancient India, which it is hoped other scholars will continue as relevant materials come to their attention.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor W. Kirfel of Bonn, who was kind enough to read the manuscript several times and to offer his suggestions for its improvement; to Professor Carl O. Sauer of the Department of Geography of the University of California, for having the final maps prepared for the engraver, and for a bibliographical reference to the history of the horse; to Professors William Popper and Henry F. Lutz of the University of California for advice on Semitic names for the Greeks; to Prof. N. Poppe of the University of Washington for suggestions on *Hūṇa* and related problems; to Dr. Brigham A. Arnold, cartographer at the University of california for the careful preparation of the final maps; and to Drs. Livingstone Porter and Alo Raun for bibliographical references. Indebtedness to other scholars is acknowledged in the text. The author alone is responsible, of course, for any conclusions.

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MAPS

(1) Ethnographic-linguistic, (2) Pāṇḍava and Kaurava nations in the Great Rebellion, at end of volume.

The Great Epic of India is essentially the story of native rebellion against Aryan exploitation.

The whole background of the war of the Mahābhārata is told very simply in the Digvijaya subparvan and a few chapters of the Dyuta subparvan of the Sabhāparvan. In the first, the four brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira set out and force the Aryan countries to acknowledge Yudhiṣṭhira's overlordship and they conquer all the other nations and tribes of India. In the second, the countries — particularly the non-Aryan[1] countries—are forced to pay exhorbitant tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira:

The king of Kāmboja—innumerable skins of best quality, woolen blankets, blankets of soft fur inlaid with threads of gold, 300 horses, 300 camels, 300 she-asses fattened with olives and pilusa.

Śūdra kings on the seacoast—hundreds of thousands of serving girls of beautiful features, waist, and hair, and decked with golden ornaments; also skins.

Tribes of Vaiyamakas, Pāradas, Tuṅgas, Kitavas, and others—goats, kine, asses, camels, vegetable honey, blankets, jewels and gems.

King of Prāgjyotiṣa—horses of the best breed and with the speed of wind; swords with handles of ivory and adorned with diamonds and gems.

All these are minor tribes living on the outskirts of the empire, so one may gain some idea of the tribute brought. And although it was enormous, the rulers and their retinues were kept waiting at the palace gate until they brought "fitting tribute" before they could enter the palace.[2]

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[1] Since the more specific term Indo-Aryan is so similar in composition to Indo-European, Indo-Chinese, and other hyphenated names of families of languages and Indo-Aryan does not refer to a family of languages but only to the people speaking a single language, I have followed recent usage of many writers on early India in using the term Aryan to refer only to the Sanskrit-speaking people of early India. In the latter part of this essay, where confusion might arise between the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians, I have used the former term to avoid ambiguity and have used Ārya or Indo-Iranian to refer to the two branches together or before their separation.

[2] II. 51. Of course there is seldom any understatement in the Mahābhārata. In one battle Arjuna was struck by at least 305 arrows before I lost interest. The handsome fellow must have looked like a porcupine but, according to the epic, he wavered not (VI. 52). I should guess that figures should be discounted to about 10 or 5 per cent. But even if wè take the lowest estimate, Yudhiṣṭhira would have obtained all the best live stock of Kāmboja, a great number of the Śudra kings'

Is it any wonder that the native peoples of higher culture, living in fortified cities and towns, rebelled against the Aryan horde of beef-gorging, soma-swilling warriors and cattle raiders, whose kings still spent much of their time wandering in the hills and hunting in the forests, and whose chief claim to be called civilized was a love of bathing and fighting? The Aryans knew so little about governing that they enslaved or degraded the masses and exploited the persons of wealth and position to the point where the native economy was disrupted and the Great Rebellion of the Mahābhārata broke out. In missing this point scholars have misunderstood the whole background of the war of the Mahābhārata.

This study is not primarily economic or social, but ethnographic. But if, in the emphasis on race, the reader gained the impression that the alignment of forces in the epic conflict was decided solely by race or language, this would be erroneous. The Aryans' system of exploitation of the natives and their imposition of a social system based on color help us to decide ethnographic questions, and hence they are mentioned at the outset.

The myth that Aryans "carried the torch of civilization" to India has been dispelled by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro, Harappā, and other places. But the interpretations of the Great Epic that grew out of this myth during the century before the excavations in present Pakistan still exert so strong an influence on the minds of many scholars that some have not yet adjusted themselves to the historical significance of the finds.

In part this is due to the thick layer of propaganda covering the true nature of the struggle. The Aryan Pāṇḍavas and their supporters had finally won, but they were in such weakened condition that something was needed to bolster their tottering sway. The ṛṣis, their "hired publicity men," outdid some of our modern broadcasters.

"For extending the fame of the high-souled Pāṇḍavas and of kṣatriyas versed in all branches of knowledge, high-spirited, and already known in the world for their achievements, Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana" composed the Mahābhārata.[1] Could the fact that it was a "publicity job" be any more clearly or bluntly stated?

The successful Pāṇḍavas gave much to the brāhmans and ṛṣis who faithfully placed all the blame on the unfortunate Kauravas and their adherants. But it was not enough to merely write the work or a good part of it. Spirits were bitter and people had to be compelled to listen. It was called a fifth veda and people were told that it was for the good

prettiest serving girls, blankets and even food as well as live stock from the mountain tribes, etc. All classes of the population would be affected and the resentment against the Pāṇḍavas would be intense.

[1] Citations are from P. C. Roy's translation.

of their souls: "He who, from desire of acquiring religous merit, causeth this history to be heard by sacred brāhmaṇas, doth acquire great merit and virtue that is inexhaustible."[1]

The propaganda is laid on so thick that the most cursory reader cannot fail to be aware of it.[2]

Except for the bits of the Sabhāparvan mentioned above and the account of the war, the Mahābhārata is an Aryan apologia for the extermination of the kṣatriyas and for the suffering brought about by their war against the rebellious natives—except for extraneous later insertions.

The Period of the Mahābhārata

Although the victorious Pāṇḍavas are made the heroes of the epic, the narrative is not begun by a Pāṇḍava but with a lament by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, head of the enemy forces. And the account of the battles is not related by or to a Pāṇḍava but to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. That is, to say the least, a peculiar way to narrate an epic dedicated to the victors.

Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, and Śālya, all Kaurava supporters, are undoubtedly the great heroes of the parvans named after them. Again it is odd to find an enemy glorified above all others in the main part of a narrative.[3]

In the description of the array of troops the author had a knowledge of the Kaurava forces (nations) taking part and their stations; but, except for the Pāṇḍava heroes, only once does the author have a detailed description of the arrangement of the Pāṇḍava warriors.[4]

In the encounters, the Kuru heroes always won in the beginning but were defeated in the end. If an original epic glorified the Kurus, it would require minimum effort for a Pāṇḍava ṛṣi to revise the ending.

Some of the foremost scholars working on the Great Epic recognized long ago that it was not a single composition but the revision of an earlier epic, and then a compilation of various other works strung together

[1] I. 62.

[2] As Sañjaya's continual upbraiding of his master, the poor old blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, for his evil ways while praising all the Pāṇḍavas for their righteousness. When one recalls that Yudhiṣṭhira "the just" and his brother Pāṇḍavas are a band of bloody upstarts who had seized all of India and had squeezed every bit of tribute possible from the native peoples and then forced the non-Aryanized natives to become "low caste" servitors or workers, this propaganda becomes almost nauseating. For the Pāṇḍava ṛṣi to make Sañjaya say "Listen to me, O king! The sons of Pāṇḍu are not covetous about this country" is about as raw a piece of publicity favorable to a gangster as has ever been attempted.

[3] The Pāṇḍavas claimed ties of relationship and of friendship with the Kauravas. But as earlier students of the epic have pointed out, when one has funds he can always find someone to trace a good pedigree for him.

[4] VI. 50.

by introductory phrases or paragraphs to give the whole some appearance of continuity.

The original Kuru epic[1] was not only modified to serve as an apologia for the Pāṇḍavas and a eulogy of them, but a great deal of original material was added to the same purpose. And much extraneous data was inserted, often entirely out of context, as that of the Bhagavadgītā. The "geography" with which we shall be particularly occupied here is one of the many didactic bits which have been thrown in where they interrupt the continuity of the narrative. The Harivaṁśa, supposedly an appendix of the Mahābhārata, is actually the compendium of history and folklore of the Yādavas—reworked, of course, by the all-revising Vaiśampāyana.

So much more detailed analysis has been done by early scholars[2] that I have mentioned only a few additional points to bring to the attention of the non-specialist that the epic was composed over a long period. Yet despite the detailed work that has been done, the work of analysis is so enormous and dating so difficult that we cannot yet state with any certainty when any part of the Great Epic was written. Hence when we refer to the geography or the ethnography of the Mahābhārata we are referring to a period of at least several hundred years when the epic was being composed, revised, and added to. During this period the boundaries of kingdoms were expanded and retracted and some ceased to exist; nomads and even some fairly stable tribes moved around as the result of war or economic pressure. So if the maps which accompany this article are static in not showing the changes in position and of boundaries at different times during the period of the epic, it is only

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[1] Hopkins (see n. 2 below) usually referred to it as the Bhārata epic.

[2] Adolf Holtzmann began the analysis of the reworking of the original epic in his work on *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, 4 vols. (Kiel, 1892–5). For Edward Washburn Hopkins' attempts to arrive at the Bhārata (Kuru) epic and the history of the composition of the Mahābhārata see his work on "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as Represented by the Sanskrit Epic," *JAOS* 13 (1889), pp. 67–8; "The Bhārata and the Great Bhārata," *Amer. Journ. Philol.* 19 (1898), 1–24; *Cambridge History of India*, chap. 11; and *The Great Epic of India, Its Character and Origin* (New York, London, 1902), chap. 5. See also Leopold von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 459ff.

In *The Great Epic*, pp. 397–8, Hopkins estimated that the Bhārata (Kuru) lays were combined into one before 400 B.C.; the Mahābhārata tale with the Pāṇḍava heroes had been formed between 400 and 200 B.C.; the epic remade with Kṛṣṇa as all-god, the intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of purāṇic material, multiplication of exploits, etc., 200 B.C. to 100–200 A.D.; last books, introduction to first book, 200–400 A.D.; occasional amplifications, 400 A.D. +.

His dates were based in part on the belief that the Yavanas were Greeks, who came to India with Alexander, and I believe they are much too late for the geographical sections; see *Taurvasavas*, pp. 25ff below.

because the analysis of the work has not progressed far enough. Recent studies on early India show so much information that it might not be premature to begin work on a historical atlas of that period. When scholars have such an atlas, then perhaps ethnographic studies may show shifts of race and language during different centuries within that period. At this time we are fortunate when we find any clues to either race or language.

I have the impression that the "geography" was written not long after the Great Rebellion, judging by such items as Kuru-Pāñcāla and the mention of most of the famous kingdoms referred to elsewhere in the Mahābhārata. I would place the writing of the digvijayas a little later, partly because of their greater knowledge of the countries in the far south of India, partly because of the mention in Sahadeva's digvijaya of a city of the Yavanas either at the mouth of the Mahānada or of the Ganges, by which I believe they were referring to a Greek trading port—if the word has not been corrupted in transmission. The dyuta list, confined to northern India, was probably made up earlier than the digvijayas.

Thus all three of these geographical lists probably were composed sometime after the Great Rebellion, although it is possible that some of the indications of a later date are due to late additions to the lists. But I think we may infer that the ethnographic descriptions of peoples in the Mahābhārata was handed down by tradition and that they antecede the conflict. If this is correct, then the number of kingdoms and tribes known to the Aryans at the time of the Great Rebellion would be somewhat less than the lists indicate; and the Aryanization of India had probably progressed somewhat farther than the maps would indicate. Yet historians have given such a preponderant role to the Aryans, that the accompanying map probably comes much closer to the ethnic-linguistic division during the period of the Great Epic than those of previous accounts.

For the location of the tribes and countries on the map see the Appendix.

The Ethnographic-Linguistic Map[1]

For making a racial-linguistic map of India during the period of the Mahābhārata we have two means: (1) the situation of the non-Aryan

[1] We are hardly in a position at this time to distinguish carefully between race and language. We are fortunate to obtain clews to either. When one speaks of France I think of people of the "Latin race" speaking French. But after a moment's thought I realize that I can understand almost nothing of Provençal and can understand the older generation of Alsatians only with difficulty. I have no idea of the percentage of "Latin", "Germanic," and "Keltic" blood in the population in different parts of France. If we can approach the definition of

peoples or languages today, and (2) the information that can be gleaned from the Mahābhārata itself or from later sources.

In large areas of the south and east of India we still have non-Aryan languages spoken today and it is not too difficult to form at least a tentative surmise as to the race or language of the peoples occupying those areas in epic times. We may roughly state present locations: Dravidian in the Deccan, Bhils scattered along the west side of India, Tibeto-Burmans along the Himalayas and in the east, Khasic in the Khasi Hills of Assam, and Mundic along the Vindhya range and north to the Ganges in the middle east of India. But Indic languages, descended from Sanskrit or closely related ancient dialects, now cover most of northern India and extend for some distance south of the Vindhya range, and it is for this area that it is most difficult to determine the racial and linguistic origins of the peoples living there during the time of the Mahābhārata.[1]

The maps of even such late innovators as Pargiter[2] still make the greatest part of northern India Aryan, corresponding very closely to the areas where Indic languages are spoken today. Even a moment's reflection would lead to the obvious conclusion that such maps must be very far from representing the actual situation during the epic period. For since aryanization has been going on in India some 2000 years since the Mahābhārata was written, and probably at a geometric rather than arithmetic rate, the pure Aryans must have been very few in epic times and the aryanization of the natives could not have been carried nearly so far down the social scale.[3] The power and influence of the Aryans was then no doubt out of all proportion to their numbers, probably something like that of the British in India until a few years ago.

It is generally held that the Aryans entered India from the northwest during vedic times and occupied the upper Panjāb. But during the epic period they had their greatest power in the Ganges and Yamunā (Jumna) valleys and their sway in the northwest was very insecure. At the time of the Great Rebellion, and for some time following, the Aryan conquest of India was at its most critical period because of the overexpansion of power, the greed of the rulers, and the degredation of the natives.[4]

"French" for the ordinary individual like myself we shall be fortunate in this initial essay. Some attempt to distinguish race and language is all we can make here.

[1] See the maps in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, ed. George A(braham) Grierson; *Constable's Atlas*; or Davies (see Bibliography), map no. 41.

[2] See Bibliography.

[3] Bhandarkar observed (p. 113) that "The Vedic Aryans took upwards of one thousand years to disseminate their faith and culture over East India although it was by no means an extensive area." And, one might add, it was by no means complete.

[4] Pargiter, p. 285, believed that the slaughter of kṣatriyas in the battles of the Mahābhārata had so weakened the kingdoms that Nāgas established themselves

We may survey what this very thin Aryan superstructure was in epic India.

Castes or Varṇas

First we may note that the ethnography of ancient India is complicated by the system of caste. Some late scholars have protested against use of the term caste for the varṇas of ancient India, so I shall use the latter word when referring to ancient Indian divisions of society.

Most of the work on the early Aryans seems to have been done for the period of the vedas, and particularly of the Ṛgveda, and it has frequently been stated that the brāhmans, kṣatriyas, and vaiśyas were Aryan and only the śūdras were native. Perhaps that was more nearly true of the vedic period of Aryan penetration into the present Panjāb. But Pargiter has shown that many of the famous early brāhmans were non-Aryan, and too many kṣatriyas are mentioned as descendants of natives on one side of the house for us to believe that they were of pure Aryan descent. So the vaiśyas are unlikely to have been of anything like pure Aryan stock even in that early period.

The very word *varṇa* "color" is suggestive regarding the racial composition of the divisions of society. The Mahābhārata[1] and other sources state that the brāhmaṇas were white (*sita*), the kṣatriyas red (*lohita*), the vaiśyas yellow (*pītaka*), and the śūdras black (*asita*). The passage explains that the kṣatriyas were called red because of their red legs, but I have not seen a clear interpretation of this. Did they smear their legs with red or wear red over them? It is the only varṇa which the text considers it necessary to explain, and we may infer that the kṣatriyas were not red-faced, while the members of the other varṇas did have faces corresponding to the color ascribed to them. At least that has been the assumption of scholars.

It has long been held that if the brāhmans were not entirely Aryan, they were at least the whitest race known in India. Even about 150 B.C., Patañjali described the brāhmans as having a white complexion and yellow or red hair.[2]

Also it has generally been accepted that the śūdras were the black natives. But the only race in western India that could be called black is the Bhil, the ancient Niṣāda, not the non-existent Dravidians of

at Takṣaśilā and assailed Hastināpura, then the outpost of the Hindu kingdoms of north India, the Panjāb having been lost. Later, Janamejaya's fourth successor abandoned Hastināpura to make his capital at Kauśāmbī, leaving all the northern part of the Ganges-Jumna doab to the enemy. A glance at the Pāṇḍava regions on Map 2 will show that this was approximately true even before the battles of the epic.

[1] XII. 188. 6934.

[2] Mahābhāṣya, on Pāṇini, V. I. 115.

northern India.[1] Any doubt that it was the Niṣādas who were made śūdras is dispelled by a passage in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 15) where one was to dwell successively with a Naiṣāda, a vaiśya, a kṣatriya, and a brāhman; here in the sequence of varṇas from lowest to highest a Naiṣāda takes the place of a śūdra because the śūdras were Niṣādas, the only difference being that the former was partly aryanized. And again, Manu (x. 8) stated that the son of a brāhman father and a śūdra mother was a Niṣāda, the son taking the status of the mother in the tribe from which she came. And the commentator Mahīdhara explained *Niṣāda* in the Vājasaneyisaṁhitā as meaning a Bhil.[2]

As for the yellow vaiśyas, the only "yellow" race living near, and even in, northwestern India and Nepal today is the Tibeto-Burman.[3]

The Bhils or Dasyus or Niṣādas have had a low state of culture since earliest times and they were made slaves or śūdras.[4] But from the very fact that the vaiśyas were not given such a degraded status, we may infer that the yellow peoples had a higher state of culture, probably already carried on trade and agriculture, and so they continued to form the farmer-trader class.

This consideration of the varṇas indicates that, even in the kingdoms considered Aryan, the Aryans were at most the priestly and ruling class, the farmer-trader class being Tibeto-Burman and the slave class being Niṣāda (Bhil). We shall find evidence below to indicate that the kingdoms that were even thought of as Aryan were probably actually very few.

The division into varṇas and later into castes unusually complicates the determination of the racial and linguistic composition of any nation or tribe. And although we cannot hope to solve all such problems for early India, we can bear these classes in mind during this study.

Early Inhabitants of Northern India

In the West

We have not yet discussed the problem of determining what people occupied northern India before the Aryans came. Many authors have assumed that it was the Dravidians who had occupied northern and

---

[1] Except for the Pulindas (Gonds), who extended a short distance north of the Narmadā, and the Maltos, then in Maldah. See note 1, p. 9.

[2] *Vedic Index,* I, p. 454.

[3] Although Tibetan is closely related linguistically to Chinese, the Tibetans today are actually more brown than yellow, indicating admixture with a darker race since epic times in India.

[4] Heinrich Zimmer remarked that the early vedic word *Dasyu* was replaced by *śūdra* (*Altindisches Leben* [Berlin, 1897], 117).

western India, but I have seen no evidence whatever to support such a theory.[1] I had originally assumed that it was the Bhils who had occupied the area from the Ganges to the western border and from the Himalayas to the northern edge of the present Dravidian territory. There is much to support this belief. The invading Aryans found flat-nosed black Dasyus in the northwest,[2] and black men are the Mahābhārata's Niṣādas, and probably the demon Mādhavas found near the Himalayas, at Mathurā, the Vindhyas, and Ānarta; and skulls of proto-Australoid type[3] were found at Mohenjodaro. In short a black primitive people seem to have lived all around the borders of the territory delimited

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[1] I have found nothing in Sanskrit literature to support such a theory. The theory may have arisen from the fact that the Brahuis, speaking a Dravidian language, live in Baluchistan west of the Indus, but it does not take into account that the Brahuis are not physically similar to the other Dravidians. And they are not of the physical type of the black natives described by the Aryans as living in northern India.

Von Eickstedt's designation of the lightest race that is numerically important in southern India as "(graceful) Indid" and of northern India as "North Indid" is misleading. There is a somatic difference between the two races, though slight; and Guha, with later data, divides von Eickstedt's "North Indid" area among Mediterraneans, proto-Nordics, Alpo-Dinarics, etc.

T. Burrow has presented a large number of Dravidian-Sanskrit word parallels, many of which look like loan words from Dravidian to Sanskrit ("Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit," *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1945 [London, 1946], pp. 79–120; "Loan-words in Sanskrit," *TPS* 1946 [1947], pp. 1–30; "Dravidian Studies VII," *BSOAS* 12 [1948], 365–396). These studies are not far enough advanced to state from which Dravidian language these loan words were taken into Sanskrit, or when. Professor Kirfel writes me that his unpublished study of these loan words shows that many were cultural terms. But the only cultured Dravidians mentioned in epic times were south of the Vindhyas. If it can be shown that these cultural terms were borrowed by Sanskrit in vedic times, they would present a case for Dravidians in the Indus valley at a very early period. This has not yet, at least, been shown.

Certainly the Brahuis must have been joined with the other peoples speaking Dravidian at one time. In the Geography we find *Sindhu-Pulindaka* which I interpret to mean the Pulindas from the Indus, since the Pulindas were not on the Indus in epic times. A rather cursory comparison of Brahui vocabulary with that of other Dravidian languages led the writer to believe that the Brahui language is most closely related to other north Dravidian languages, spoken by people of comparatively low culture.

The work of A(ugust) Clemens Schoener, *Altdravidisches, eine namenkundliche Untersuchung* (Erlangen, 1927), has not—as far as I know—been examined critically by a scholar familiar with Dravidian and the languages of the regions concerned, particularly Iranian, with respect to the theory of Dravidians in northern India or their origin.

[2] Manu said that tribes without the pale of the castes sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet (of Brahma), whether they speak the language of the Mlecchas or of the Āryas, are all called Dasyus. But this was the word of a later lawmaker who probably used neither *Mleccha* nor *Dasyu* in their original sense.

[3] The proto-Dravidian or Veddoid of some writers.

above, and the borders of this area were better known to the Aryans than the jungles and desert within it.

The vedic Dasyu was described as *kṛṣṇa-tvac* "black-skinned," *anās* "flat-nosed," and *mṛdhra-vāc* "of hostile speech."

The Mahābhārata's description of Niṣāda prince Ekalavya as of dark hue, of body smeared with filth, dressed in black and bearing matted locks on his head[1] might be an early Aryan description of either a Bhil, a Kol, or a Gond, and for this passage I make the identification of Niṣāda and Bhil primarily from the position of one of the Niṣāda tribes near the western end of the Vindhyas and because the Yādavas distinguished the Niṣādas from Gonds and Kols.[2] More accurate descriptions of Niṣīda, ancestor of the Niṣāda, are found. The Mahābhārata states that he was short limbed, resembled a charred brand, and had blood-red eyes and black hair;[3] the Viṣṇupurāṇa says he had a complexion like that of a charred stake, flattened features, and a dwarfish stature;[4] the Bhāgavatapurāṇa describes him as black as a crow, of short stature, arms and legs, with high cheek bones, a broad and flat nose, red eyes, and tawny hair.[5]

The Rajputana Gazetteer[6] states that "the typical Bhil is small, dark, broad nosed, and ugly."

One may ask what language did the Dasyus-Niṣādas-Bhils talk? Ethnologists have sometimes considered the Bhils as of a different racial stock from that of the peoples speaking either Dravidian, "Austro-asian," Sino-Tibetan, or Indic languages and we may note here that three languages spoken in or near India have no genetic relationship with any of the above linguistic groups: Nahālī spoken in Nimar, Kusūnda spoken in Nepal, and Buruśaski spoken north of the Dards. Buruśaski is rather well known, but the other two languages are so little known that I shall present short vocabularies of each to show that they have no noticeable connection with each other, and it will be apparent to those familiar with the other linguistic groups of India that none of the following languages are even remotely related to Dravidian, "Austro-asian," Sino-Tibetan, or Indic:

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[1] I. 134.

[2] The Harivaṁśa, chap. 5, states that from Niṣīda originated the Niṣādas, Tuṣāras, Tumbaras, Gonds, Kols, and other tribes living in the Vindhyas. Thus while it grouped them all together in an obvious bit of folk etymology, it also distinguished them. (The Tuṣāras or Tukhāras did not live in the Vindhyas but in the foothills of the Himalayas, according to a statement elsewhere in the Harivaṁśa; the error is perhaps due to a copyist.)

[3] XII. 59. 94–97.

[4] I. 13.

[5] IV. 14. 44.

[6] Calcutta, 1908, p. 87.

Meaning	Nahālī	Kusūnda	Buruśaski[1]
hand	*boko, bāko-*	*gipan*	*-rīṅ*
foot	(Indic)	*tśān*	*-ūṭis*
head	*peṅg*	*tśipi*	*-yaṭis*
hair	*kugutśʿī*	*gyai-i*	*-γūyaṅ*
eye	*dźikī*	*tśiniṅ*	*-ltśin*
nose	*tśoon*	. . .	*-mūpuṣ*
mouth	*kāggo*	*birgyād, birgyaṅ*	*-xat*
tooth	*mēṅgē*	*toho*	*-me*
tongue	*lāṅg* (Mundic)	. . .	*-ūmus*
ear	*tśigām*	*tśyā-u*	*-ltumal*
belly	*popo*	. . .	*-ūl*
fire	*āpo*	*dźa*	*pʿū*
water	*dźopo, dźappo*	*tāṅ*	*tsʿil*
sun	(lw.)[2]	*iṅ*	*sā̆*
moon	(lw.)	*dźun*	*halants*
star	*ipʿil*[3]	*iṅ gai*[4]	*asī*
iron	(lw.)	*pʿalām*	*tśʿūmār*
house	*awār*	*bāhi*	*hā*
horse	*māu*	. . .	*haγur*
cow	(Hind.)	*nokmwa*	*būā*
dog	(Drav.)	*agai*	*huk*
bird	*poya-*	*kotau*	*balas, ṭṣʿin*
one	*bidī*	*goisāṅ*	*hin, han, hik*
two	(Drav.)	*gʿigna*	*āltā, āltan, āltō*
three	(Drav.)	*dāha*	*īskī, īsken, uskō*
four	(Drav.)	*pindźāṅ*	*wāltī, wāltō*
five	(Indic)	*pagnaṅdźāṅ*	*tsindī, tsundō*
six	(Indic)	. . .	*miśīndī, miśīndō*

I know of no evidence to connect the Dasyus-Niṣādas-Bhils with the Buruśos; rather, I may have classified some people as Dardic who spoke Buruśaski in epic times.[5]

Hodgson published his Kusūnda vocabulary with some Tibeto-Burmic and Indic vocabularies[6] without any comment and the distinctive type of the language has remained unnoticed ever since. The geographical

[1] In Buruśaski, *a* = *u* in Eng. *but*.

[2] Lw., loan word.

[3] Mundic *īpīl*.

[4] See "sun" above.

[5] Buruśaski has been very fully recorded by D(avid) L(ockhart) R(obertson) Lorrimer, *The Burushaski Language* (Oslo, 1935—1938), 3 vols. (Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, serie B: Skrifter, Vol. 19, pts. 1—3).

[6] B(rian H(oughton) Hodgson, "Comparative Vocabulary of the Broken Tribes of Nēpāl," *JASB* 26 (1857), 317—332 (Kusūnda, pp. 327ff.).

position of the Kusūndas and that of the Barbaras of the Mahābhārata coincide, as nearly as we can tell, and I have identified them here.[1]

Sten Konow inserted a Nahālī vocabulary and text among the Mundic languages in volume 4 of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, thinking that the base of the language was probably a Mundic language similar to Kūrkū. Here, as sometimes elsewhere, Konow was influenced by geographical propinquity. In an analysis of the available data I found that the base of the language was not Kūrkū and not even Mundic.[2]

James M. Campbell in 1880 stated that the Nahāls lived on the north side of the Sātpudās (i.e., Satpuras), bordering on Holkar's Nimār and in the towns of Balvadi, Palāsner, and Sindva, and in smaller numbers in Chirmira and Virvāda.[3] Two years later Horatio Bickerstaffe Rowney[4] stated that the Nahāls inhabited the northeast part of Khandesh from "Arrāwād" (i.e., Adavad?) to Burhanpur. The latter is just across the border in Nimar.

Where Rowney placed the Nahāls would be quite within the Bhil territory on Konow's map.[5] Campbell said the Nahāls were "the most savage of the Bhils" and he described them as very dark, small, and harsh featured. Rowney also classed the Nahāls as Bhils.

The probability, then, is that Nahālī is the remains of the Bhilla language[6], the speakers of which G. S. Ghurye placed racially in his pre-Dravida type that he considered once to have occupied much of India.[7]

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[1] Sanskrit seems to have had originally no general term for foreigner. But as the Dāsa, Dasyu, Barbara, and Mleccha became more or less absorbed in Aryan civilization and the original specific meaning of these terms was no longer remembered, these words came to be used for any foreigner. Thus *Barbara* did not originally refer to any foreigner—somewhat as in Greek—but to a people who lived near the Kirātas.

[2] "Nahālī, a Linguistic Study in Paleoethnography," *Harvard Journ. Asiatic Studies* 5 (1941), 346–371.

[3] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 12, *Khandesh* (Bombay, 1880), p. 94.

[4] *The Wild Tribes of India* (London, 1882), p. 31.

[5] *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 9, pt. 3 (Calcutta, 1907).

[6] In 1827 Sir John Malcolm wrote that an intelligent Bhil had assured him that some Satpura Bhils had a language peculiar to themselves ("Essay on the Bhills," *Transactions RAS* 1 [London, 1827], p. 81 n.).

[7] *Caste and Race in India* (New York, 1932). There is nothing in W. Koppers work "Zum Rassen- und Sprachen-Problem in Indien," *Die Sprache* I (Vienna, 1949), pp. 217–234, or *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (Vienna, 1948) to indicate that he noticed a physical difference between the Bhils and the Nahāls, but he does remark that, although he is not a specialist in the field of physical anthropology, he has noticed not inconsiderable differences between the Bhil and Kūrkū, and between the Bhil and the Gond (and Baiga) (pp. 233–234 of the article). Unfortunately the anthropometric data collected by Koppers on the jungle tribes of central India has not yet been published.

Nahālī vocabulary and grammar had already borrowed much from Dravidian, Indic, and Mundic when Konow published the vocabulary and text of the language, and he wrote that it was then spoken mostly by scattered families of hereditary watchmen in Nimar, so that even this somewhat corrupted language seemed on the way toward extinction. I suggested that Nahālī should be more fully recorded before it entirely disappears, but the suggestion does not seem to have been followed, perhaps because the native words were buried among a mass of loan words in following the editor's suggestion to arrange the vocabulary alphabetically to make it more accessible. In the brief vocabulary of Nahālī given above all words that are certainly loans have been eliminated, so that the native words will stand out clearly. If Nahālī is not recorded promptly, we shall never know the language, probably once spoken over much of western India, well enough to solve problems of race and toponymy satisfactorily.

Early Inhabitants of the Ganges Valley

If the dwarfish, snub-nosed, black-faced Bhils occupied western India, who occupied the Ganges-Yamunā before the Aryans came? Although so little work has been done on the geographical names of India, these names may be suggestive. Hans Krahe found, in a study of the names of the Main and its tributaries, that the larger streams had received their names in pre-German times and had retained them.[1] So it is significant for our study that for the names of the three principal rivers in northern India today, *Sindhu*, *Gaṅgā*, and *Yamunā*, no satisfactory etymological explanation has been found.[2] We are concerned here only with the Gaṅgā, on the lower reaches of which were the kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga, regarded in the Mahābhārata as Mleccha. Now the non-Aryan people that today live closest to the territory formerly occupied by these ancient kingdoms are Tibeto-Burmans of the Baric branch.[3] One of the languages of that branch is called Mech, a term given to them by their Hindu neighbors. The Mech live partly in Bengal and partly in Assam. B(runo) Lieblich remarked the

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[1] "Ortsnamen als Geschichtsquelle," *Schriften der Universität Heidelberg*, Heft 4, p. 166.

[2] One may add that of the large Panjāb rivers no satisfactory etymology has been found for *Vitastā* (the Jhelum); and although *Śatadru* (the Sutlej) may be analyzed as "(flowing in) a hundred branches," the older form *Śutudrī* (Ṛgv.) is of unknown derivation. Another of the five, the *Sindhu*, was noted above. These and the *Yamunā* and *Jahnu*, from which one of the names of the Ganges was derived, do not look likely to be Tibeto-Burmic. Were the names Bhilla or Āraṭṭa?

[3] For the easy access of the Baric people to the area occupied by these three kingdoms, see the introduction to my "Classification of the Northernmost Naga Languages," JBRS 39 (1953), 225–264.

resemblance between *Mleccha* and *Mech* and that Skr. *Mleccha* normally became Prakrit *Meccha* or *Mecha* and that the last form is actually found in Śaurasenī.[1] Sten Konow thought *Mech* probably a corruption of *Mleccha*.[2] I do not believe that the people of the ancient kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga were precisely of the same stock as the modern Mech, but rather that they and the modern Mech spoke languages of the Baric division of Sino-Tibetan.

There are other reasons for thinking that they were Sino-Tibetans. For, although *-ṅg-* is not rare in Sanskrit, neither is it particularly common. But *-ṅ* is particularly common as a final in Sino-Tibetan languages. Thus, compare the East Himalayish (Kiranti) dialect names: *Rodoṅ, Ruṅtś'en-buṅ, Tś'iṅ-taṅ Natś'ereṅ, Waliṅ, Yak'a, Tśouras, Kuluṅ, T'uluṅ, Bahiṅ, Lohoroṅ, Lambitś'oṅ, Balali, Saṅ-paṅ, Dumi, K'aliṅ, Duṅ-mali,* where 12 of the 17 names end in *-ṅ*.[3]

We may suspect that the non-Aryan names of the Ganges and of the three kingdoms at its mouth were originally *Gaṅ, Aṅ, Waṅ* or *Vaṅ,* and *Ka-liṅ* or *Kliṅ*; that when the Aryan invaders took over the words they added the usual endings *-ā* for rivers and *-a* for peoples; and, although Sanskrit could have final *-ṅ*, it could not have final *-ṅā* or *-ṅa* and so a *-g-* had to be inserted.[4]

Moreover Sylvain Lévi[5] compared the last part of Pliny's *Modogalinga*,[6] a people on a big island in the Ganges with Tibetan *gliṅ* "island." And I have interpreted *Bhujiṅga*[7], the name of a place which appears to have been close to Kāśi and the Ganges, as from Tibetan *Bod-žiṅ* "Tibetan-field, -garden."

These geographical names lead to the conclusion that a Sino-Tibetan people or peoples had pushed west and had occupied the Ganegtic valley, the richest part of Madhyadeśa, before the time of the Mahābhārata.

At the time of the Mahābhārata I do not believe that the Tibeto-Burmans were an effective power in the upper Ganges valley; and the Bhils were no longer important as independent tribes in the west. This will appear below.

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[1] "Der Name Mlēccha," *ZDMG* 72 (1918), 286–7.

[2] *Linguistic Survey of India* 3, pt. 2, p. 1.

[3] B. H. Hodgson, *JASB* 26 (1857), 333ff.

[4] We know that archaic Tibetan had a final *-nd*, so it is not impossible that proto-Tibetan had a final **-ṅg* (and **-mb*) and that the name of the Ganges and the three kingdoms may have been *Gaṅg, Aṅg*, etc. But since we have no record of such an early stage of Tibeto-Burmic, the explanation given above seems the simplest for the present, at least.

[5] *Pre-Aryan*, pp. 102–3. Pliny VI. 18.

[6] VI. 18.

[7] See Geography, entry no. 28.

Aryan Attempts at Ethnic Classification

We cannot take the genealogies quite as literally as Pargiter. Instead we must consider the earlier generations as eponymous ancestors of the race. Everyone is familiar with the Biblical attempt at classification by dividing peoples into the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah. I am not a Semitic scholar and I neither know nor care whether the Semitic classification was correct or not. We are interested here only in the accuracy of the Aryan attempt at classification, which only time will definitely decide.

The Aryans derived all the important races of India from Manu, literally "man." The fact that they did not derive the Niṣādas from Manu is an indication that they were no longer important in epic times. Or, since the authors of the Ṛgveda regarded the Dasyus with contempt, they may have expressed this by excluding them from descent from Manu.

Saudyumnas.—The Saudyumna stock was considered to be descended from a biological freak, which may have been the Aryan means of expressing their feeling that this stock was not quite human. The identification of the Saudyumna stock with the modern Mundic peoples seems reasonable, but it is not particularly important for our purposes because we can identify Mundic countries by other means.

Constable's Atlas, plate 9, shows the Muṇḍa race extending right up to Bhagalpur and within 75 miles of Patna.[1]

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[1] For linguistic evidence that the Mundic stock has been in India a very long time, see Manfred Mayrhofer, "Neue Literatur zu den Substraten im Altindischen," *Archiv Orientální*, Vol. 18 (*Symbolae Hrozný*), no. 4 (1950), 367–371, with bibliographical references.

Hamit Koṣay's "Türkische Elemente in den Munda-sprachen (Munda dillerindeki Türkçe unsurlar)," *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu) 3 (1939), p. 107–126, presents comparisons between Turkish and Finno-Ugrian and Mundic, some of them sufficiently close phonetically to warrant further study. The works of W. F. von Hevesy, *Munda-Magyar-Maori, An Indian Link between the Antipodes; New Tracks of Hungarian Origins* (London, 1928), under pseudonym F. A. Uxbond, and *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien; es gibt keine austrische Sprachenfamilie — das vorarische Indien teilweise finnisch-ugrisch* (Vienna, Manz, 1932) are not available to me. A review of von Hevesy's works is given by P. W. Schmidt, „Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen", *BSOS* 7 (1935), 729–738. Since work on the so-called Ural-Altaic and Austroasian families is now progressing somewhat under various scholars, soon we may more competently decide whether the parallels presented by Koṣay and von Hevesy are purely accidental, whether they are loan words

Mānavas.—The Aryans thought that the earliest race in India was the Mānava, in two branches. That in the east, descended from Manu's son Ikṣvaku, occupied the kingdom of Ayodhyā (later Kośala), and Videha, and still later Vaiśālī. The western branch, descended from Manu's son Śāryati, occupied Ānarta.

We have very good reasons for believing that this Aryan classification expresses historical truth, for we know that there was a great city at Ayodhyā before the Aryans came, and, since the excavation at Mohenjo-daro, we find that there was a very early urban civilization in the west of India, anteceding that of the Aryans.

I am inclined to believe that the western Mānavas at Ānarta were Iranians.[1] The Iranians were the closest people on the west of India that we know anything about. And nearly half of the Mohenjo-daro skulls which could be classified belonged to the Mediterranean (Hamitic, Iranian) type, today a dominant element in the north of India and generally among the upper social classes. At Mohenjo-daro was found the sculptured head of a man with a short beard ("chin whiskers"). A "chin whisker" beard was a characteristic of many Persians in their sculptures, and the Pahlavas are distinguished in the Mahābhārata from other people by their beards.

Pandey[2] has protested against Pargiter's separation of the Mānavas from the other peoples of India: "the Mānavas are not described as a people distinct and different from the Ailas . . . Both are described as a people similar in race, language and religion." If the Mānavas were Iranians, they would be similar in race, language, and religion to the Indo-Aryans, one of the Aila peoples. Moreover, Pandey[3] shows the Mānavas to be Iranians when he states that the Śakas were descended from Nariṣyanta, son of Manu.

If the Aryans were right in considering western and eastern Mānavas as closely related, then the Kośalas, Videhas, and Vaiśālas would also have been Iranians. But a past attempt to connect them with the Iranians

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and, if so, from what period, or whether they signify distant genetic relationship. If either of the last two possibilities should prove correct, they would be of considerable importance for the prehistory of India.

[1] Those inclined to daring geographical jumps may refer to P.-E. Dumont, "Indo-Aryan Names from Mitanni, Nuzi, and Syrian Documents," *JAOS* 67 (1947), 251—3, and G. Dumézil, "Dieux cassites et dieux védiques à propos d'un bronze du Louristan," *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 11, fasc. 52 (1950), pp. 18—37; both have bibliographical references. The Near East and India are also discussed in many of the works referred to in Constantin Régamey's "Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la civilisation et les langues de l'Inde," *BEFEO* 34 (1934), pp. 429—566. See also Wilhelm Brandenstein, „Die alten Inder in Vorderasien und die Chronologie des Rigveda", in Brandenstein, *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft* (Vienna, 1948), pp. 134—145.

[2] P. 101.

[3] P. 96.

was not well received. Some traditional stories link the Eastern Mānavas with Tibet.[1] We shall return to this question below.

Āyava (Aila).—The so-called Aila or Lunar race or, as I prefer to call it, the Āyava (from Āyu) appeared later, for there are two generations between Manu and Āyu. Only the Kāśis can be regarded as Āyava. Scholars have remarked ties between them and the Eastern Mānavas, as Jala Jātūkarṇya, purohita of the kings of Kāśi, Videha, and Kośala.

Āmāvasava.—This line at Kānyakubja was established at about the same time as the Āyava. One may guess from their geographical and genealogical position that both the Āyavas and Āmāvasavas were colonies sent out from Ayodhyā.

Two generations later, according to Pargiter, came the descendants of Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru. Pargiter assumed that the Ānavas, Drauhyavas, Yādavas (and Haihayas), Taurvasavas, and Pauravas were all Aryan. But we have already noticed that Pargiter's Aryans would leave little room for aryanization in northern India during the millenniums since the time of the Mahābhārata. Direct evidence that these people were not Sanskrit-speaking Aryans is the fact that, according to the Ṛgveda, the Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvaśas, and Pūrus attacked the Aryans at the Paruṣṇī (the Ravi), so they must have been

[1] According to these tales Ikṣvāku had a son Vikukṣi who succeeded him at Ayodhyā. In six purāṇas, Ikṣvāku had other sons, 50 of whom were kings of Uttarāpatha (northern India) and 48 in Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Deccan). But according to the other version in four purāṇas, Vikukṣi had 15 sons who were kings north of Meru and 114 others south of Meru (Pargiter).

Now, according to Tibetan tradition, the legendary kings of Tibet commenced with Gnya-k'ri Btsan-po, said to be a son of King Prasenajit of Kośala (Luciano Petech, "A Study on the Chronicles of Tibet," *IHQ* 13, sup. p. 19).

These traditions may go back to a common source. Vincent A. Smith concluded from ancient sculptures at Barhut (Bharhut) and Sāñcī and from certain institutions that the Tibetan type was much more prominent in the plains of northern India 1800 to 2000 years ago than it is today. He also remarked that polyandry, such as Draupadī's marriage to the five Pāṇḍava brothers, is still a Tibetan and Himalayan custom (*Oxford History of India* [Oxford, 1923], p. 7).

D. S. Triveda seems to hold that the eastern Mānavas were Aryans ("The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar," *JBRS* 36 [1950], pts. 3–4, pp. 134–147; 37 [1951], pts. 1–2, pp. 127–152). But Triveda's reference to vaiśya kings and their marriage with vaiśyas may be interpreted as indicating a considerable yellow-skinned population of some social importance among the eastern Mānavas (pp. 131, 142).

Chatterji (p. 35), evidently basing his conclusions on Dines Chandra Sirkar in the Vaisali Volume not available to me, inclines to believe that the eastern Mānavas were Mongoloid or people of mixed blood with a strong Mongoloid element, who had adopted or were adopting Aryan speech.

In the Vāyupurāṇa, MS e, the Kośalas are regarded as foreign (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3).

native tribes hostile to the Aryans. And in the Ṛgveda *anu* means a non-Aryan;[1] *Druhyu* is considered a derivative of *druh-* "be hostile to"; *Turvaśa* is a derivative of *turv-* "to overpower." No derivation has been found for *Yadu* and we may infer that it was a native name. *Pūru* has been compared with *pūruṣa* "man, people." Thus four of the five names indicate by their etymology or lack of etymology that they were applied to non-Aryan or hostile peoples.

Rangacharya has noted that the Yadus and Turvaśas are called Dāsas in the vedas,[2] and that the Dāsas lived in fortified villages, which was not true of the Aryans.

And the Mahābhārata states explicitly that the sons of Turvasu are the Yavanas and that the sons of Anu are the Mlecchas.[3] And no scholar has ever contended that the Yavanas or Mlecchas spoke Sanskrit.

If these peoples were not Sanskrit-speaking Aryans, what then?[4]

We are hampered in this investigation by having almost no information about India's neighbors on the west or north. The only recent statement I have seen regarding the early population of Afghanistan is that of Antonio Pagliaro. He said that it was Iranian and that the earliest inhabitants were the Persian-speaking Tājīks.[5] The source of his information, however, seems to have been Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Cabaul* (London, 1815).[6] Although Elphinstone's conclusions seem to be based on some research and observation, one may doubt whether his conclusions would still stand after a modern investigation.

We do have, however, one bit of information regarding the early inhabitants of Afghanistan in Herodotus' statement that in 516 B. C. Skylax, a Karian of Karuanda, set out under Darius' orders from the

[1] Since a number of Indian gods have been found in Near Eastern countries (see p. 16, n. 1), anyone interested in trying to connect Anu with the Babylonian sky god Anu of Uruk is welcome to the theory. Although I express another view of the Ānavas below, our knowledge of ancient relationships is not so assured that one can be didactic.

[2] Even Rangacharya, interested primarily in the Aryans as "carriers of culture," observed that the battle on the Paruṣṇī was between Sudās and the rulers of Matsya, Śivas, and Yakṣus, and the kings Turvaśa, Druhyu, Pūru, Anu, Vikarṇika, and perhaps Yadu and others, and remarked "it is obvious that some of these tribes were non-Āryan" (pp. 192–193).

[3] *Cr. Ed.* I. 80. 26; Roy I. 85.

[4] Chanda, although holding to the usual view that the Yadus, Pūrus, Druhyus, Anus, Turvaśas, Bharatas, and others were Aryans, noted that they were traditionally akin to the dark section of the ṛṣis, the Kaṇvas and Viśvāmitras (p. 25). This is a contradiction, for then they would be Aryans who were not Aryans, or they would be at least a mixed breed.

[5] *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Milan, 1929), under *Afghanistan*.

[6] Pp. 309ff.

city of Kaspaturos[1] in the country of Paktu (πακτυική γῆ).[2] This can hardly have been anything but the country of the Paxtus, the northern Afghan dialect corresponding to Paštu in the south. It indicates that these people were already in Afghanistan at least before the time when Hopkins would date the composition of the Mahābhārata.[3]

Yādavas.—According to the Harivaṁśa, Yadu was the grandson of Ikṣvāku of the clan of Manu and of the daughter of the demon king Madhu, and Yadu had his capital in Ānarta, which was part of the former kingdom of the demon Madhu. Madhu ruled at Madhuvana, but Śatrughna slew his son Lavaṇa, cut down Madhuvana forest and founded the city of Mathurā.[4]

Thus, according to the Yādavas' own history, they were descended from the first race in India, the Mānava, and from the demon king Madhu. How should this be interpreted?

I have mentioned above that although I considered the Bhils to have once occupied all western India, I no longer believe they were dominant in that area at the time of the Mahābhārata. For although proto-Australoid (pre-Dravida) skulls were found at Mohenjo-daro, they were in the minority in comparison with the Mediterranean (Iranian) type, and archaeologists have inferred that the former made up the slave or servant class. And, although a report on most of the burials at Harappā is still awaited, the dominant skull form in the earlier phase seems to have been the Australoid, but it does not appear to be dominant in the later phase. This would seem to indicate that the aborigines were being first subjected, then enslaved, and finally eliminated.

I think we must interpret the Yādavas' account of their origin as that the Mānavas (Iranians)[5] were subjugating the Bhils, and that the Yādavas were their descendants who had conquered the Bhils from

[1] But Kaspápuros in the country of the Gandarii in Hekataios frg. 295 (Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, pt. 1 [Berlin, 1923]). Instead of *y* I have written *u* throughout in transcribing Greek geographical names.

[2] IV. 44.

[3] See above, p. 4, n. 2, 2d paragraph. Perhaps these people were the same as the Pakthas (< *Pakhtu), who fought in the Battle of the Ten Kings of the Ṛgveda. For the Sanskrit substitution of final *-a* for peoples for the final *-u* of the root of foreign names, see *Hūṇa* in Index.

[4] Harivaṁśa 54.

[5] Sir Herbert Risley attributed the broad, round-headed elements among the Gujarātis, Marāṭhis, and Coorgs to Sythian admixture (*The People of India*, 2d ed., Calcutta and London, 1915).

And J. H. Hutton thought the distribution of brachycephalics worked out by Guha in 1931 indicated a third millennium B. C. invasion from the direction of the Iranian plateau which penetrated down the west coast of India as far as Coorg and apparently threw out offshoots down the Jumna and Ganges valleys to the Ganges delta (Man 43 [1943], p. 44). The Yādavas covered most of the area outlined by Hutton, but did not, apparently, extend as far east as the delta of the Ganges.

Ānarta to Mathurā and married their women. For we must take the demon Madhu to symbolize some primitive people who occupied at an early period all the territory from Mathurā (i.e., from the Tibeto-Burman occupied Ganges valley?) to Ānarta. The only non-Aryan people to occupy any of this territory today are the Bhils. And Kṛṣṇa "black" was the great Yādava prince of Ānarta, formerly of Mathurā.

Yadu founded seven clans, according to the Yādava history, the Bhaima,[1] Kaukura or Sātvata, Bhoja, Andhaka, Yādava, Dasarha, and Vṛṣṇi. The Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas were branded as vrātyas in the Mahābhārata[2] and Kṛṣṇa himself was so regarded,[3] and the Surāṣṭra kings were considered vrātya and mostly śūdra (i.e., black) in the purāṇas.[4] Baudhāyana states in his Dharmasūtra[5] that the inhabitants of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra are of mixed origin. Devala[6] said that he who visited the Saurāṣṭras should be initiated anew. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* calls either the Saurāṣṭras, or the Abhīras, or both, men of great stature and black in color,[7] which would indicate a mixture of a tall race with the black Niṣādas (Bhils), and further absorption of the latter.

The Yādavas occupied former Mādhava territory at Surāṣṭra, Ānarta, and Mathurā, and the outcast status was no doubt due to their intermixture with the Bhils.

That some of these Yādavas of Mānava-Mādhava (Iranic-Bhil) descent had become aryanized, but not completely by the time of the Mahābhārata is indicated by the statement of Karṇa that "the Śālva cannot comprehend until the whole speech is uttered," the Śālva being Yādavas.

Haihayas.—The Haihayas are considered a branch of the Yādavas, and we find Pahlavas, Śakas, and Kāmbojas (all Iranians) associated with the Haihayas in an attack on Ayodhyā.

The branches of the Haihayas were: Vītihotras, Bhojas, Śāryātas, Avantis, Tuṇḍikeras, and Tālajaṅgas. The Vītihotras were thought of as foreign in the Vāyupurāṇa, MS e,[8] and the king of the Avantis as vrātya and mostly śūdra.[9]

From the position of the Haihayas within and north of the Vindhya range, I would infer that the base of the population was not Bhil, as

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[1] Descendants of Bhīma, who ruled over Surāṣṭra.

[2] VII. 143. 15.

[3] MRK, p. 95.

[4] Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 54—55.

[5] I. 1. 32—33.

[6] Quoted by Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya III. 292.

[7] Par. 41. Hjalmar Frisk gives the original Greek text in "Le Périple de la mer Érythrée," *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 33 (1927), 1—145. The text is indefinite in reference to the people.

[8] Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3.

[9] Op. cit., 54—55.

with the Yādavas, but either Kol or Gond, and hence the distinction between Haihayas and Yādavas.

When the racial-linguistic map in this work had been filled in, it appeared that there were only a few scattered Niṣāda tribes left, and that the Yādavas, Haihayas, and Ānavas had occupied nearly all the west. Hence we must assume that the Niṣāda-Mādhava (Bhil) natives had become subjected and largely absorbed.

Ānavas.—One of the most important non-Aryan groups in India was the Ānava. The eastern Ānava included Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma. The first three of these occupied territory farthest to the east, territory which we would expect most likely to be Tibeto-Burmic.[1] But *Puṇḍra* looks more like a Mundic word and the country adjoined Mundic territory; it was probably occupied by Mundic peoples under a Tibeto-Burmic ruling caste. Kaliṅga itself was probably occupied by Tibeto-Burmans who drove the native Mundic speakers north from the seacoast before the period of the Mahābhārata. *Suhma* and the variant *Svakṣa* could be Tibeto-Burmic compounds, *Su-hma*, *Swak-sa*, but there is nothing particularly Tibeto-Burmic about their appearance.[2]

The western Ānavas were the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Śibis, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Kaikeyas, Madrakas, Vṛṣadarbhas, the kings of Navarāṣṭra, the lords of the city of Kṛmilā,[3] and, according to some, the Bāhlīkas. The names of the western Ānavas do not have the final *-ṅga* so characteristic of the names of the eastern Ānavas. Hence one may doubt that the western Ānavas spoke a Tibeto-Burmic language.

But, although the East Himalayish dialect names usually end in *-ṅ*,[4] none of the West Himalayish names of dialects end in *-ṅ*,[5] so it may be due to similar reasons that the West Ānava names did not end in *-ṅga*. Moreover, Karṇa said to Śalya: "The regions are called by

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[1] Baudhāyana in his Dharmasūtra (I. 1. 32–33) said that the inhabitants of Aṅga were of mixed origin, and that anyone who visited the Puṇḍras, Vaṅgas, or Kaliṅgas should offer a punastoma or sarvapṛṣṭhi. Devala (op. cit. in n. 6, p. 20 above) said anyone visiting the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, or Kaliṅgas should be initiated anew.

Risley attributed the broad, round-headed elements among Bengalis and Oriyas to a Mongoloid race (op. cit. in n. 5, p. 19 above).

[2] Almost any word can be Tibeto-Burmic if we assume it is a compound.

[3] Dines Chandra Sircar, "The Ancient City and District of Kṛmilā," *IHQ* 17 (1950), 138–141, identified Kṛmilā as probably the modern village of Valgūdar, near Luckeesarai in the west of the Monghyr district. But Sircar does not state that this was the Western Ānava city, and I doubt that the latter would be so far east.

[4] See p. 14 above.

[5] I have not investigated why none of these names end in *-ṅ*, whether they are all native names that by accident end in some other phoneme than *-ṅ*, whether they are native names that have been aryanized, or whether they are names bestowed on them by others. Whichever it might be, the same may have been true of the western Ānava names.

the name of the Āraṭṭas. The people residing there are called Bāhlīkas."[1] We can understand that. *Dakota* is an American Indian name, but the Dakotans of today are practically all Americans without a drop of Indian blood.

Hence I am tentatively giving the author of the passage in the Mahābhārata the benefit of the doubt when he considered the western and eastern Ānavas closely related and both Mleccha. When he remarked that the sons of Anu were the Mlecchas but the sons of Turvasu were Yavanas, he was evidently trying to make a racial-linguistic distinction. He did not consider the Yavanas to be Mlecchas. And when he called people of the Panjāb and of Bengal both Mlecchas, I assume that the Aryans' idea of race and speech was at least fair and that he had reason for it, perhaps Mongoloid features, perhaps a difference of tones in their languages as compared with the tones of Sanskrit or Dardic.

Pandey says that Anu occupied the northern Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, but that the Ānavas were forced to the northwest in the Panjāb by Emperor Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā. We have seen above that the Tibeto-Burmic peoples occupied at least the eastern part of the Ganges valley. If Anu occupied the upper Ganges in very early times, it would narrow the geographical gap between the eastern and the western Ānavas.

We have also noted above that the vaiśyas were yellow, so enough Mongoloid types must have lived in the north of India at the time of the Aryan invasions to form a yellow varṇa. And, according to Rangacharya,[2] Sudās annexed the territory of the Anus after the battle on the Paruṣṇī, so the Ānavas would already be living in the Panjāb at the time of the Ṛgveda.

As far south as Mohenjo-daro one burial was found where the skull clearly belongs to the Mongolian type, comparable to the modern Naga type. This is what we should expect when Mohenjo-daro fell from power —the gradual infiltration of western Tibeto-Burmans (western Ānavas) down the Indus valley.

Pargiter has noted that the Aryans were losing their grip on their vedic home on the upper tributaries of the Indus toward the close of the epic period and even before that, and the most likely non-Aryan invaders, we may guess, would be Tibeto-Burmic tribes now living in the hills north of there.[3]

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[1] Mbh. VIII. 45.

[2] P. 194.

[3] For the Mongolian element in northern India today, see B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, no. 22 (Oxford Univ. Press, 1944), map on inside covers.

I do not insist that the western Ānavas were Tibeto-Burmans. They may have been Turks, Mongols, or some other people. During the last century it was customary for scholars to call any unclassified central Asians Turanians, now it is the custom of ethnologists to call them Mongoloid. I have not too much confidence in either,

It is true that we have no outside evidence that Tibeto-Burmans inhabited the western part of southern Tibet at the time of the Mahābhārata.

From a manuscript of the Žaṅ-žuṅ language from Tun-huang, ca. 8th century, F. W. Thomas inferred that the language was West Himalayish.[1] If his interpretation of scattered words proves correct, I would classify it more narrowly as being closest genetically to the Almora branch of West Himalayish. Thomas believed the speakers of this language occupied the Kailāsa region before 644 A.D.[2] From Kailāsa a branch of this people could have followed the present upper Sutlej to the Himalayas in early times.

One bit of evidence comes closer to epic times. In the Sogdian "Ancient Letters", referring to the region in Tibet north of the Panjāb, occurs the word *'nkp'*, which Pelliot interpreted *Ang-pa*.[3] This certainly looks like a Tibeto-Burmic word, the postposition *-pa* occuring very frequently with Tibetan stems.

Baudhāyana[4] said that the Sindhus and Sauvīras are of mixed origin and that he who visited the Sauvīras should offer a punastoma or sarvapṛṣṭhi; and Devala said anyone who had visited the Sindhus or Sauvīras should be initiated anew. The fact that only the Sindhu-Sauvīras were singled out from all the western Ānavas indicates that all but those on the western border had been aryanized by the time the above works were written.

The word *Mleccha* was used to refer to both the eastern and western Ānavas. Although *Mleccha* came in time to be used for almost any non-Aryan and even for Aryans of impure speech, I have the impression that in the Mahābhārata it was most often used for people living in close proximity to regions now occupied by peoples speaking Tibeto-Burmic languages, and that it originally referred to these peoples. In time it came to mean something like "foreigner," but that was after most of the Ānavas had become assimilated.

I suspect that skr. *Mleccha*, referring to the indistinct speech of some non-Aryans, is taken from proto-Bodish (proto-Tibetan) **mltśe* "tongue," Old Bodish *ltśe*, Kukish generally **mlei*, the combination of initial consonants *(*mltś-)* being simplified in various ways in different Tibeto-Burmic languages. Aspiration cannot occur after *l* in Old Bodish, and the proto-Bodish form may have been **mltś'e* for all we know, so

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but we can hardly expect the ancient Aryans classification to be more precise than that of modern scientists. And such evidence as we have seems to indicate that the western Ānavas were more likely Tibeto-Burmans than Turks or Mongols.

[1] JRAS, 1926, p. 506.

[2] *Nam, An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland* (London, 1948), p. 14 and map at end of volume.

[3] See *Cīna* in Index.

[4] Dharmasūtra I. 1. 32—33: ca. 4th century B.C., according to Bhandarkar.

the *cch* of Skr. *Mleccha* may come nearer the primitive affricate than anything preserved in the Tibeto-Burmic languages. Since **mlcche* would be an impossible combination in Sanskrit, *mleccha* would be as close as a Sanskrit speaker could come to it.

Tibet is the one country outside of India that the Aryans knew something about. During the Mahābhārata period the hill tribes of the Himalayas were continually having to be subdued. And as late as A. D. 646—7, Chinese and Tibetan forces invaded northern India through Nepal.[1] But early contacts between the two lands have been almost entirely neglected by scholars,[2] so I shall add a few observations.

At the beginning of Tibetan history the capital was south of Lhasa at Yar-kluṅs (Yar-luṅ), almost at the border of Bhutan and on the edge of a valley at the head of which is a pass leading toward Assam and the Brahmaputra valley. My suggestion of the Tāmralipta being the "red-faced" Tibetans is therefore not improbable for the epic period.

The word for "horse" provides an interesting example of early contacts between Tibeto-Burmans and India. Vedic *aśva* has been replaced in most of the Indic languages by Skr. *ghoṭa*—or its phonetic equivalent,— which appears in the Śrautasūtra of Āpastamba.

William Ridgeway concluded from the description of the coloring of horses in the Ṛgveda that they had chestnut heads and backs, shading off into dun on the lower parts of the body in the manner of the wild horse of the steppes known as Przewalski's horse, and that they were of Mongolian or Upper Asiatic stock.[3] And Agrawala said horses of partridge color came from the Uttara Kuru country.

But in a detailed examination of the question of the taming of the horse, Bengt Lundholm[4] agreed with the assertion of B. T. Rumiantseff that there was no connection between Przewalski's horse and the Mon-

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[1] For map, see Helmut Hoffmann, "Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte," *Saeculum,* Vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 268—269.

[2] Notable exceptions are Banikanta Kakati, *Assamese, Its Formation and Development* (Gauhati, 1941), pp. 47—53, 55—56; and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Kirāta-jana-kṛti, The Indo-Mongoloids: Their Contribution to the History and Culture of India," *JRASB-Let.* 16 (1950), no. 2. And Jules Bloch observed: "In India gender disappears completely from the eastern (Aryan) languages only, and in fact there and there only the question is undoubtedly of the action of a Tibeto-Burman substratum" (*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India,* Calcutta, 1929, pp. 44—45).

[3] *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 150ff.

[4] "Abstammung und Domestikation des Hauspferdes," *Zoologiska bidrag från Uppsala* 27 (1947), 1—287; see especially section on "Die Frage der zentralasiatischen Zähmung," pp. 160ff. His conclusions are based largely upon the work he refers to as B. T. Rumjancev, 1936, "Origin of the Domestic Horse," Bull. Ac. Sci. URSS, 2—3, which I have not been able to find.

golian domestic horse, but that the Tarpan was the ancestor of the Asiatic domestic horse.

Ridgeway remarked that the modern ponies of Bhutan, Nepal, and Spiti are in the main Mongolian, and that the Mongolian breed from the Himalayas kept steadily streaming into Hindustan in the thirteenth century and that we do not know how long previously.

Since Ridgeway presented no such detailed analysis as Lundholm and Lundholm presented no detailed analysis of the horses of India, no definite conclusions can be drawn here. But the two points of view do not seem in the main to be irreconcilable with each other or with the linguistic evidence.

From the little we know about horses in early India, Ridgeway could be right about the northwestern horses of the Ṛgveda being the Przewalski horse of the steppes, which was called *aśva*, a term of Indo-European origin. And later the Mongolian horse was brought down from the north and called by its northern name.

For in Tsangla, the language closest genetically to Tibetan and spoken in Bhutan just south of Tibet, the word for "horse" is *kurtā*. In Tibetan itself, only the final part of the word, *rta*, has been preserved, probably because of an accent on the original final syllable. But the full form is preserved in Mundic: Savara *kurtā*, Gadaba *krutā* (with metathesis of *u* and *r*). The reconstruction **ghurta* seems preferable for the forms outside of Dravidian, rather than Jules Bloch's **ghutr-*,[1] not only because of the Tibeto-Burmic and Mundic forms but also because Wackernagel more often derives Skr. *ṭ* from *liquid + *t* rather than the reverse.

Thus the linguistic evidence indicates that the Sanskrit (not vedic) horse was introduced into India by way of Tibet.

Kaikeyas.—The Kaikeyas are usually reckoned as Western Ānavas. But Jaina writers tell us that half of Kekaya was Aryan,[2] while late vedic literature refers to the Kaikeyas as a very ancient people.[3] These statements account for seeming inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata, where the Kaikeyas fought on both sides in the Great Rebellion. The Kaikeyas referred to in vedic literature were Western Ānava. But Sudās had annexed the Ānava territory and Aryans had lived in the Panjāb in vedic times and apparently some remained in Kekaya. The princes of Kekaya were Aryans who went over to the Pāṇḍavas, but the Kaikeya population was predominantly Ānava and fought on the side of the Kauravas.

Taurvasavas.—Pargiter inferred that since Turvasu received the territory in the southeast he must have ruled the area around Rewa, having subdued the Kārūṣas. But Pandey wrote that although Turvasu

[1] Op. cit. (p. 24, n. 2 above), pp. 46ff.

[2] *Indian Antiquary* (1891), p. 375.

[3] Rang. 185.

postulates that Pāṇini lived in the pre-Alexandrian period, possibly in the 5th century B. C. How, then could Pāṇini formulate a rule about *Yavana* if the Yavanas only entered India with Alexander—after Pāṇini's death? Chattopadhyaya concluded that the grammarian must either have heard of the Ionians from the Persians or that there was a Greek colony in India by Pāṇini's time.

I have found no evidence to indicate that the early Indians gained any knowledge about the peoples west of Kabul from the Persians or anyone else. And Chattopadhyaya himself decided in favour of his second alternative when he pointed out that Arrian said that the Nysians were not of the Indian race but were descended from men who came into India with Dionysos. And the next year, S. B. Chaudhuri also thought[1] that the Yavanas were presumably known to India before Alexander's time, judging by Pāṇini's reference to the writing of the Yavanas, Arrian's account of Nysa between the Kophen (Kabul) River and the Indus—pointing to a Greek colony on the frontiers of India before the invasion of Alexander,[2] and the numismatic evidence that a Greek colony existed in some outlying province of India about 550 B.C.

The weakness of this Indian theory would seem to be that western scholars have generally accepted a later date for Pāṇini than the fifth century B.C. I have impression that British scholars have generally accepted *ca.* 400 B.C., and German scholars *ca.* 350 B.C. These dates are sometimes given with great assurance and no authority. But where an authority is cited, it always seems to be Böhtlingk. The Kathāsaritsāgara (beginning of 12th cent.) mentions Pāṇini as a pupil of Varṣa and Varṣa as living under the rule of king Nanda, father of Chandragupta; and from this Böhtlingk deduced "Daß Pāṇini im 4. Jahrhundert gelebt hat, ist, wie wir später sehen werden, nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich".[3] Böhtlingk suggested this date with more reserves than even the above citation suggests.[4] But if we take the dates *ca.* 400 B.C. or 350 B.C., which have been accepted by western scholars upon so insecure a basis, still it is rather surprising to find Pāṇini making rules for the formation of the feminine of Yavana if the Yavanas only came to India with Alexander in 326 B.C., for Böhtlingk himself thought Yavanas must have been known in India for some time for Pāṇini to make rules about their name. To allow for that we should have to date the great grammarian's work at least as late as 300 B.C., and we should have to assume that he, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali were hastily recording a dying

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[1] "Huns, Yavanas and Kāmbojas," *IHQ* 26 (1950), p. 120, n. 23.

[2] Strabo, 15. 1. 6–9; Arrian, index *Dionysus.*

[3] *Panini's Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1887), p. viii.

[4] Albrecht Weber criticized Böhtlingk's dating but his own date of A. D. 140 rests partly on tales and the assumption that Yavanas came to India only with Alexander (*The History of Indian Literature* [London, 1882], p. 217).

language, since Aśoka erected his pillar and rock edicts about 250 B.C. in the local prakrits. If we cannot definitely date Pāṇini's life at present, we have at least seen that if we do not accept the early dating of Indian scholars, we still have difficulties with "accepted" western dating and problems if we date the grammarian after Alexander.

Since we know almost nothing of the ancient history of Central Asia, we cannot superciliously dismiss evidence presented by both Sanskrit (vedic, epic, Pāṇini?) and Greek sources that Greeks were in India before the time of Alexander. We shall consider the matter further below.[1]

Since Skr. *Yavana* corresponds best with the hypothetical Homeric form **'Ιάϝονες*, the later Sanskrit *Yauna* with the earliest actual Greek form *'Ιάονες*, and the Prakrit *Yona* with classical Greek *Ἴωνες*, one might deduce that Sanskrit must have borrowed *Yavana* at least by the time of Homer—long before Alexander brought Greeks to India.

Perhaps that is true. But I incline to believe that the evidence from the names is entirely inconclusive. Since the name had a rather wide extension in southern Asia, the question is one of some importance not only in India but in the Near East as well, and it seems worth while to digress long enough to review it briefly.

The old Sanskrit pronunciation of *Yavana* was *Yawana* or *Yau̯ana*,[2] which corresponds very well with Hebrew *Yāwān*, Assyrian *Iāmanu*[3] (pronounced Iāu̯anu)[4] as the name of the Greeks. The assumption has been that the Asiatics applied the name of one branch of the Greeks —the Ionians—to all the Greeks.

The oldest Greek forms were *'Ιάονες* for the people (Iliad), *'Ιαονίη* for the territory.[5] Since the digamma had disappeared in Ionic by the eighth century, the reconstructions **'Ιάϝονες* and **'Ιάϝονία* have been generally accepted. As these would be phonetically *i̯áwones* and *i̯awonía*, the correspondence with Hebrew *Yāwān*, Skr. *Yavana* (i.e., *Yawana*) is nearly perfect except for the *o* in Greek, which has not been explained.

However, we shall see below[6] that the Greeks transcribed Skr. *va* as *o*, and I have noted elsewhere that they transcribed Lycian *wa* as *o* and Lycian *awa* as *ω*.[7] The indications are, then, that Greek *o* and *ω* were not simple vowels but a diphthong and triphthong respectively: *wa* or *oə*, and *awa* or *aoə*. Thus *'Ιάονες* was actually pronounced *i̯áwanes*

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[1] Pp. 45f.

[2] Whitney, *Skr. Gram.*, 2d ed., sec. 57.

[3] *Ia-a-ma-nu.*

[4] *m* after vowel > *u̯* in Babylonian; Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 67.

[5] Solon by Ar. Pol. Ath. 5.

[6] P. 115.

[7] "Greek Transcription of Lukian," *Jahrbuch f. kleinasiatische Forschung* 2 (1951), 5.

or *i̯áǫənes*,''*Ιωνες* was actually pronounced *íawanes* or *íaǫənes*, almost the only difference being the position of the accent. That the last vowel of the stem was a schwa best explains the Assyrian Iamnai̯a[1] (pronounced *iau̯nai̯a*), Old Persian *Yauna*, Elam. *(i)-i̯a-u-na*, compared with Skr. *Yavana*, Hebrew *Yāwān*. The Hebrews and Indians heard the schwa as *ă*; the Persians and Elamites did not "hear" it.

The Sanskrit form *Yauna* would then probably be a loan word from Persian, Prakrit *Yona* by regular phonetic shift.

Thus the evidence from the name *Yavana* in old Sanskrit is neither favourable nor unfavourable to Greeks being in India before Alexander. The Greeks changed the spelling of the name for Ionians, but not the pronunciation from the time of Homer to Alexander, and hence the Indians would have had the same transcription of the word—*Yavana*.

Drauhyavas.—The Druhyus founded Gāndhāra in the northwest where the native population was Dardic, and one might expect the Drauhyavas also to be Dardic. But the Mahābhārata states that they were Bhojas, by which one may infer that the author was trying to imply that by origin they were Iranic. Since Dardic is linguistically between Indic and Iranic, it would require a better linguist than could be found among the early Aryans to make such a fine distinction. To them Dards were probably considered so close to Iranians that the nearest thing to a synonym they could think of was Bhoja (Yādava, Haihaya).

Pauravas.—We have not yet discussed who the Pauravas were. One can only say that they were not Aryans. The Pūrus were fighting the Aryans at Paruṣṇī and they were described in the Ṛgveda as *mṛdhravācaḥ* "of hostile speech," otherwise applied only to Dasyus.[2] The Vāyupurāṇa MS e, held the Pauravas to be foreigners.[3] In the royal Paurava line were names such as *Dhundhu*, *Kuru*, and *Jahnu* for which no certain derivation has been found and others which seem out of line with the usual Sanskrit names of persons.

The Bharatas were also against Sudās, and he humiliated them along with the Turvaśas and Druhyus. The Harivaṁśa regarded the Bharatas as Talajaṅghas (i.e., Haihayas) along with Vītihotras, Avantis, Bhojas, and Tuṇḍikeras.

There were many generations between Pūru and Ajamīḍha, whose four sons founded royal lines in Hastināpura, Northern Pañcāla, Southern Pañcāla, and Kanyākubja. And it was some generations later before Kuru was king at Hastināpura, and then 16 more down to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. This gave a good deal of time for aryanization. Both the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas claimed descent from Pūru, and the Pāṇḍavas were almost certainly Aryans, probably the latest and fairest to enter

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[1] *Ia-am-na-a-a*. [2] MRK, p. 26. [3] Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2—3.

India, one may infer from their name.[1] But an upstart monarchy must attach its genealogy where it commands respect, and the Kurus had been the greatest power in India before the Great Rebellion, so it was logical for the Pāṇḍavas to claim descent from them.[2]

The Kurus are generally accepted as Aryans, and scholars went to the Kuru-Pañcāla country to study the purest speech.[3] Let us assume that the upper varṇas of the Kurus were Aryan. But how about the greater part of the population? I have heard that the best English in the world is spoken at Trinity College, Dublin, but one cannot say that the Irish as a whole speak the purest English.

A strong reason for doubting that the bulk of the population of the Kaurava nation was Aryan is that the Kauravas rallied the support of nearly all the non-Aryans, the Pāṇḍavas the support of nearly all the Aryans.

After the battle of the Mahābhārata the Pāñcālas seem to have annexed the honored name of the Kurus.[4] The name Kuru and Kaurava seems to have soon disappeared from the political map of India. What became of the Kuru people? If one looks at a modern linguistic map one may note three small patches labeled *Kur*, which one may compare with ancient *Kuru*, and the larger patch labeled *Kur-ku*; also *Korwa* which we may compare with ancient *Kaurava*.[5]

These are Mundic languages. Edward Tuite Dalton wrote[6] that, although the various divisions of the Kaurs or Kauravas were much

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[1] After the Aryans had won the war, they revised the Kuru epic to make themselves the heroes. So certainly they were not glorifying foreigners above all others when they praised the Pāṇḍavas as their leaders. It is true the epic does make a foreigner, or semi-foreigner, Kṛṣṇa, into a god; but that, according to Hopkins, occurred in a still later revision (see p. 4, n. 2, par. 2). And one may suggest that Kṛṣṇa's deification took place after enough of the native population had been accepted by the Aryans and had attained a position in society strong enough to force acceptance of one of its heroes as a god.

Some scholars have been misled by the Pāṇḍavas practice of polyandry to the inference that they were not Aryans. Anthropologists are continually warning that we must distinguish between race, language, and culture—and then are constantly using one to back up their assertions about the other. Their advice is sound, however, if they seldom practice it. Professor Kirfel has pointed out to me that polyandry is found in Tibet and in the Nilgiris, and probably no scholar will contend that the inhabitants of the Nilgiris are Tibetans.

[2] As Rangacharya (p. 198) remarked of the Bharatas "traditions came to be invented by the chroniclers of this and later epochs to prove that the Bharatas were the progenitors of all the important dynasties of India".

[3] *Vedic Index*, II, p. 279. [4] See Geography, entry no. 1.

[5] See *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, ed. John George Bartholomew (Westminster, 1893), plate 10. Korwā is a dialect of Kherwārī spoken in Chota Nagpur and South Midnapur. Kurku is spoken in the Satpura and Mahadeo Hills. One may also note that a vagrant tribe of Madras is called both Kurru and Korava.

[6] Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (Calcutta, 1872), p. 136.

scattered and had little contact with each other, they all tenaciously clung to the tradition that they are descended from the Kauravas of the Mahābhārata who had taken refuge in the hill country of Central India, and that this was firmly believed by all castes of their Hindu neighbors, and that the latter regarded them as their brethren.[1] Dalton thought that only the upper castes of the Kauravas were Aryan. From the line-up of the non-Aryans on the side of the Kurus I had concluded that the upper Kuru varṇas were more likely aryanized natives. At any rate the kṣatriya varṇa of the Kurus had been almost exterminated, leaving only the base of the population. What was the race or language of this base? A(lfred) Ludwig first interpreted *kuru* as "red,"[2] later as "brown."[3] And one may note that two of Sudyumna's sons ruled over Utkala and Gayā, the first Mundic down to the present time and the second Mundic in early times, while the third son ruled over the east, including the Northern Kurus.[4] This would lead to the inference that the Northern Kurus were also Mundic.

The Aryan genealogies are the most confused and imperfect of any. Since the Aryans were an uncultured people without writing and since the system of writing they found in India was not the type easy to learn, some of the people of India may have had a literature in which they recorded their genealogies, while the Aryans had to transmit their traditions orally and this was more faulty. When the Aryans had developed as far as the period of the Great Epic we can understand the anxiety of their rulers to attach their family tree to one of a family of higher culture and greater antiquity. By that time they were taking over the literature of their once more civilized neighbors. The Pāṇḍavas attached their folklore to that of the Kauravas, and at the same time attached their genealogy to that of their former enemies.[5] Modern archaeological work has just begun in India, and we should not assume that blanks in our knowledge were blanks in fact. Some of the gaps in our knowledge of the development of writing in India between the Indus civilization

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[1] Dalton hit close to the truth when he suggested that the war of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas was not a family quarrel but a struggle for supremacy between an Aryan and a "Turanian" nation, but he was ahead of his time and his suggestion went unheeded.

[2] "Über die mythische Grundlage des Mahābhārata," *Věstník Královské České Společnosti Náuk (Sitzungsber. kgl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wiss.)*, 1895, no. 9, p. 4.

[3] In a review of *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und als Rechtsbuch* ... by Joseph Dahlmann, in *ibid.*, 1896, no. 5, p. 104.

[4] Pusalker, p. 273.

[5] If the early Kuru epic was in a non-Aryan language, Vyāsa was particularly capable of translating it; for he was the son of a brāhman-ṛṣi and a Dāsa princess and he had married the Kuru queens of his step-brother, and was no doubt polyglot (Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Krishna Vāsudeva," *JRASB-Let.* 16 [1950], 80).

and Asoka will no doubt be filled and we shall find that some of the people of India had written records.[1]

Although I am very sceptical of the Pauravas and their supposed descendants, the Bharatas and Kauravas, being Aryans, I think their upper classes were probably aryanized, and on the ethnic-linguistic map I have given these people the benefit of the doubt and regarded them as Aryan.

Āraṭṭas.—Scholars have generally assumed that Dāsas and Dasyus referred to natives in general. This is erroneous. The Dasyus are referred to contemptuously. They are slaughtered or thrown down; they are made servile. They were identified above with the Bhils. But, while the Dāsas are enemies who may be hated, dispersed, overcome, or slain, they are never held in contempt. Hence the vedic hymns frequently refer to Indra overcoming foes, Dāsa and / or Ārya.[2] The Dāsas and Āryas were on a social level, above the Dasyu-Bhils.

Sudās destroyed all strongholds and seven castles after the battle on the Paruṣṇī (Ravi).[3] And while some of the people of the Panjāb were primitive people fighting with clubs, we know the Dāsas had both forts and wealth.[4] We may now connect the ancient Harappā civili-

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[1] Professor Kirfel suggested to me that remains of the Kurus may be found in the present people of Kulu, the *r* of *Kuru* having been changed to *l*. This is a brilliant suggestion; for Kulu is just across the Sutlej from where I placed Kuru-Jaṅgala on Map 1. Professor Kirfel remarked "Der Wandel von *r* in *l* ist weit verbreitet. Nach einem Aufsatz von Karl Ammer ... findet sich das *l* schon im Ṛgveda in vielen Worten, wo man eigentlich ein *r* erwarten würde. Wenn ich nicht irre, findet sich in den Aśoka-Inschriften das *l* überall da, wo man ein *r* erwarten würde. In sprachlicher Hinsicht würde also wohl keine Schwierigkeit vorliegen."

Professor Kirfel referred to the works of Karl Eugen von Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya. Erlebnisse und Forschungen* (Leipzig, 1884), 34ff., and Karl Ammer, "Die L-Formen im Ṛgveda," *WZKM* (1948). Unfortunately neither of these are available to me, but the suggestion should certainly be further investigated.

[2] See Muir, Vol. 2, p. 361. [3] Rgv. VII. 18. 13.

[4] See Vedic Index, I, pp. 356, 358.

The only reference I have seen as to whom the Indo-Aryans thought of as Dāsas is by Manu, who is so late and so formal that I do not believe he can be generally accepted as more than suggestive regarding actual conditions during the vedic period. He said that the sons of a śūdra (i.e., black) father and vaiśya (i.e., yellow) mother was an Āyogava (x. 12), and that the son of a Niṣāda (black) father and an Āyogava mother was a Mārgava or Dāsa. About all we can conclude from this is that, in Manu's time, a good many centuries after the term arose with the Aryan invasion of India, the people called Dāsas were more black than yellow.

But it is interesting to compare Manu's other term for this people, *Mārgava*, with the Iranian name **Maryu, Margava* "Merv." And the Bṛhatsaṁhitā has a *Mārgara*, which may be an error for Mārgava, in the south-west (i.e., northwest).

Phonetically corresponding to Skr. *Dāsa*, the Iranians had the word *Dahae*,

zation on the Ravi with the vedic Dāsas and the epic Āraṭṭas. For Karṇa stated that the regions were called by the names of the Āraṭṭas but that the people residing there were called Bāhlīkas. One might infer from this that the Āraṭṭas were extinct, and that the Bāhlīkas were occupying their territory, but that was not true. Rangacharya[1] has summed up the evidence on the Āraṭṭas, noting that Baudhāyana in his Śrautasūtra[2] "clearly says that the lands of the Āraṭṭas and Gandhāris in the Panjāb and further west were not suitable for orthodox Aryans, and that those who went there should perform the catuṣṭoma. In his Karmasūtras he is even plainer. He says they were of mixed blood . . . The Mahābhārata says that none should spend more than two days in the land of the Āraṭṭas."

The report of the biggest find of Harappā burials has not yet been published, so that it would be premature to attempt to define the ethnic composition of the Āraṭṭas here. On other grounds the writer had conclud-ed that the Bāhlīkas were a mixture of Mānava and Ānava. One may now tentatively interpret this as the partial absorption of the Āraṭṭas, centered around Harappā, by the western Ānavas coming down from the north.

But, some reader may object, you have made nearly all the nations of India non-Aryan.

Well, I believe that is as it should be. One cannot expect some tens of thousands of Aryan invaders to have subjugated and aryanized a land of perhaps some tens of millions in a few centuries. But in India, where classes were divided, we must look at things somewhat differently. The Aryans were at the time of the Mahābhārata still the invaders and conquerers.

When the Mongols conquered India and China, the people still remained Hindu and Chinese, and the situation of the Aryans in India at the time of the Mahābhārata was not very dissimilar to that of the later Mongols. When I state that a certain people was Yādava, hence Bhil-Iranian, I am referring to the greater part of the population; the

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the name of a people living in Alexander's time on the southwest shore of the Caspian Sea (see Davies, map 3). But Tacitus wrote *ad flumen Sinden, quod Dahas Ariosque disterminat* (*Ann.* XI. 10), and Paul Kretschmer thought Tacitus was referring to the Sindhu as the boundary between the Āryas and the Dahae (*KZ* 55 [1927], pp. 102–103). If so, the question arises who was on which side of the Indus and when.

In the Avesta, *dahaka* refers to impious persons and Aži Dahāka was an impious dragon (A. Christensen, *Danske Vidensk. Sels. Medd.* 27, no. 1, pp. 24f., 20ff.). They seem, therefore, not to have followed the Iranian religion.

[1] P. 197.

[2] XIII. 13. At I. 1. 33 he said that anyone who has visited the Āraṭṭas shall offer a punastoma or sarvapṛṣṭhi.

ruling classes may have been aryanized natives, of mixed race, or pure Aryan.[1] And in designating a kingdom as Ānava I am suggesting that the bulk of the population was Mleccha (Tibeto-Burman) although the kṣatriyas and brāhmans may have been of Aryan descent or aryanized natives. For I believe the *early* genealogies were trying to express what the people were, not the ruling classes.

When the Aryans conquered a native people, it did not necessarily mean that they followed an Aryan policy thereafter. When the Normans conquered England, they continued to talk French but their policies were no longer French but English and often anti-French. And so if the Yādavas and Ānavas had Aryan rulers, they usually did not line up with other Aryan rulers in the Great Rebellion but united against them.

[1] In his study of "Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit" (*JAOS* 32 [1912], 414–428), Walter Petersen concluded that Sanskrit was a caste language from the beginning — meaning, no doubt, from the earliest record of it.

THE ARYANS AND THEIR MIGRATION TO INDIA

So much weight has been given to the Aryans in the past that we shall couterbalance matters here by mentioning them only briefly. The general opinion is that the Aryans of the vedas lived in northwestern India. But at the time of the Mahābhārata the centers of Aryan power were along the Sarasvatī, the Yamunā, and the upper Ganges.

The general theory has been that the Indo-Iranians spread eastward, the Iranians stopping at the Indus while the Indo-Aryans went on and entered India by way of the Kabul River valley, overran the Panjāb in vedic times, spread farther east in epic times, and during historical times pushed eastwards even into Assam. This theory made it a nice orderly west-to-east spread.

There was much to be said for such a theory. During historical times, invasions of India have been through the northwest, and from there extended eastward. The homeland of the Indo-Europeans has been placed somewhere in the great plains of Eurasia, and one would expect migrations to radiate from this center. Logical as this theory seems to be, it has certain defects.

First, although Sanskrit and Avestic are so closely related genetically that none doubts they were once one people, scholars have never succeeded in agreeing on their homeland more closely than that it was somewhere west or northwest of India.

Although the Iranians and Indo-Aryans have a number of common religious beliefs and gods, no common geographical knowledge has been adduced.

None of the vedic hymns treats at length of the passage of the Indus, which would be a necessary feat for the invasion of India from the west.

A glance at the ethnic-linguistic map will show that the Indo-Aryans at the period of the Mahābhārata knew almost nothing of the peoples west of a narrow fringe on the further bank of the Indus River. And a survey of the geographical knowledge of the authors of the Ṛgveda shows that they too knew nothing beyond the tributaries of the Indus.

But the ethnic-linguistic map shows that the Indo-Aryans knew considerable about the peoples along the upper Indus valley in present Tibet.

The geographical locations outside of India that are most often connected with Indian religion and traditions are almost entirely in or north of the Himalayas, not west of the Indus.

Muir has noted references in the Ṛgveda indicating recollection of a colder country, expressions of "a hundred winters" (*śata(ṃ) himāḥ*),[1] as if winter were something to be dreaded.

These considerations had begun to arouse my scepticism regarding the accepted theory of the eastward migration, which I too had accepted for so many years without question. But it was while seeking information regarding the early inhabitants of Afghanistan that the solution became apparent.

The earliest account the Avesta has given us of geography is believed to be in the Vendīdād,[2] Fargard I. Below I give a list of "countries"[3] with the pertinent information accompanying them in the Vendīdād, and the interpretations of scholars:[4]

1. *Airyanəm vaējah* "Vaējah of the Aryas" (*Vaējah*, being the name of the country). Ten months winter, two of summer. River Dāitya.
2. *Gava* in which live the *Suγδa* (O. P. *Suguda*, Gr. *Σογδιανή*, "Sogdians").
3. **Maryu-*, *Mōuru-* (O. P. *Margav-*, Gr. *Μαϱγιανή*, "Merv.").
4. *Bāxδī-* (O. P. *Bāxtrī-*,[5] Gr. *βακτϱία*, M. Iran. *Bāxl*, Pers. *Balx*, "Baktria, Balkh.").
5. *Nisāya-*, between Mōuru and Bāxδī. (*Νισαία*, capital of Parthia; Christensen: the Nisāya of E. Iran mentioned by Ptolemy, "le Maïméné moderne".)

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6. *Harōyū-* (O. P. *Haraiva-*, "Herat"; Christensen: *Ἄϱια* or *Ἀϱεία*[6]
7. *Vaēkərəta-*, where *Dužaka* or *Duhaka* live. ("Kabul", Spiegel; "Sistan", Bournouf, Lassen, Haug; "Gāndhāra" Christensen; "Bargada" in Paropamisos, Darmesteter; Oichardes River crossing Scythia, S. Lévi.)
8. *Urvā-*, with many pastures. ("Kabul," Haug, Lassen; between Hyrcania and Merv, Nyberg; between rivers Kurum and Gomāl flowing in Indus, Geiger; Urvaδa River flowing in Lake of Hamun in Sistan, Aurel Stein, Markwart, Herzfeld; about city of Ghazna on R. Ghazni, Christensen.)

[1] Vol. 2, p. 323.

[2] Or Vīdēvdāt, Av. *vīdaēvō dātem.*

[3] "Created," except for the first, by Ahura Mazdāh.

[4] The line following no. 5 is my own, placed there to facilitate the following discussion.

The latest interpretations I have seen of the following names are by Arthur Christensen, "Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes," *Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser* 29, no. 4 (1943).

[5] Non-Persian form found in Old Persian; **Bāxθri-* would be the form expected for Old Persian (Benveniste, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* 47, fasc. 1 (1951), p. 22.

[6] A fertile country watered by the Arios (Harīrūd) and Margos (Marvrūd).

9. *Xnənta-*, where live *Vəhrkāna-* (O. P. *Varkāna*, Gr. *Ὑρκανία*, "Hyrcania"; "Gurgān", Spiegel; "Kandahār," Haug.)
10. *Harax^{v}aitī-*, the beautiful. (O. P. *Hara^{h}uvatī-*, Gr. *Ἀραχωσία*, "Arachosia.")
11. *Haētumant-*, the brilliant, the glorious. (Gr. *Ἐτύμανδρος*, Afg. *Hēlmand*, "Helmand" River.)
12. *Raγa-*, with three forts (tribes). (O. P. *Ragay-*, *Raγay-*, *Rağay-*, Gr. *Ῥαγιανή*, modern Rai in Media near Tehran.)
13. *Čaxra-*, the strong, the faithful. (brigands, Nyberg; "Mazenderan" province, Christensen.)
14. *Varəna-*, with four ears, where *θraētā̊(o)na* was born, who killed the dragon *Dahāka*. ("Guilan," Haug, Christensen; region of Iaxartes, Nyberg.)
15. *Hapta-həndu-* (O. P. *Hindav-*, the "Indus.")[1].
16. People at the sources of the *Raŋhā*. ("Iaxartes," Geiger, Nyberg; "Volga," Markwart; probably "Volga," Christensen.)

We shall leave no. 1 for discussion below. For the other places above the line, i.e., nos. 2 to 5, one may note general agreement among scholars on the identifications and very close phonetic agreement.

But for those below the line there is very general disagreement of scholars on the identifications, and phonetic similarity only in four, nos. 10—12, 15, and the last of these is not in Iran but in India.

I referred to the names above as those of "countries," but Av. *šōiθra-* really means the territory occupied by a tribe. Now we may note a very peculiar thing in entries 6 to 16, on which Iranists have so generally disagreed. Four of the names of "countries" agree with the Sanskrit names of rivers (Skr. *s* = Av. *h*, *ŋh*):

6. *Harōyū-*, O. P. *Haraiva-*, Iran. *Harayū*, Skr. *Sarayū*.
10. *Harax^{v}aitī-*, O. P. *Hara^{h}uvatī-*, *Sarasvatī*.
15. *Hapta-həndu-*, O. P. *Hindav-*, Skr. *Sapta-sindhu*.
16. *Raŋhā*, Skr. *Rasā*.

Scholars have already noted all these correspondences and they have remarked on the similarity of Iranian and Indo-Aryan place names. But one scholar seems to have observed one correspondence and another scholar another correspondence, and no one appears to have noticed that they are all names of rivers and that they are named going from east to west *in India*.

We may now note another peculiar thing about the Vendīdād list: the number of names between nos. 6 and 10 corresponds exactly to the number of prominent rivers in India between the Sarayū and the Sarasvatī; and between 10 and 15 to the number of big rivers between the

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[1] For the vowel of the Old Persian form, see Benveniste, op. cit. (p. 36, n. 5, above), p. 23.

Sarasvatī and the Indus. Thus, beginning with the Sarayū and going from east to west in India, we find the following correspondence:

6. *Harōyū-*, Skr. *Sarayū*
7. *Vaēkərəta-*, Skr. *Gaṅgā*
8. *Urvā-*, Skr. *Yamunā*
9. *Xnənta-*, Skr. *Dṛṣadvatī*
10. *Haraxᵛaitī-*, Skr. *Sarasvatī*
11. *Haētumant-*, Vedic *Śutudrī*, Skr. *Śatadrū*
12. *Raγa-*, Vedic *Paruṣṇī*, Skr. *Irāvatī*
13. *Čaxra-*, Vedic *Asiknī*, Skr. *Candrabhāgā*
14. *Varəna-*, Skr. *Vitastā*
15. *Hapta-həndu-*, Skr. *Sapta-sindhu*
16. *Raŋhā-*, Skr. *Rasā*

The Rasā River has not been definitively identified. It is probably a western or northern tributary of the Indus.

From the above list it seems obvious that the Iranians knew not only the Indus but all the great rivers of northern India from the Sarayū west to the Indus and the Rasā.[1]

The theory of the eastward migration of the Indo-Aryans has blinded some previous investigators to the most ancient evidence left by both the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans. The Vendīdād and the famous river hymn of the Ṛgveda both name the rivers from east to west. By the theory of eastward migration, this does not make sense. For according to that theory, the Iranians stopped when they came to the Indus and the vedic Aryans when they came to the Panjāb. For every people, where they are is the center of the universe and from there they radiate out. If you were living in Calcutta and wished to tell your child about the great rivers of the world would you begin with the Amur or the Mississippi and finally get to the Ganges? Of course not. The only way in which the order of the rivers in the Vendīdād and the river hymn of the Ṛgveda makes sense is as history, the rivers the Indo-Iranians passed in their westward migration.

The fact that the Iranians gave all but four of the rivers of northern India different names from those of their Indo-Aryan relatives is not surprising. For the much more closely related vedic Aryans and Sanskrit-speaking Aryans give entirely different names to two of the rivers of the Panjāb (nos. 12,13), while the names of a third (no. 11) agree only on the consonants, not on the vowels.

The surprising thing is not that the Iranians and Indo-Aryans did not agree on the names of all the rivers, but that they agreed on some. And the question arises why they had the same names for the Sarayū,

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[1] Two other "countries," nos. 9 and 11, are specifically referred to as rivers (*rūd*) in Iranian (Pahlevi, etc.) texts or commentaries.

Sarasvatī, Sindhu, and Rasā except for phonetic shifts that occurred in Iranian after the two people separated.

We can only conclude that the Indo-Iranians knew all these rivers before they separated. Where could they have lived where they would know and name these rivers, and yet not know the other rivers of northern India—to which they each gave different names after their separation?

Since the list of rivers began with the Sarayū, this gives us a hint where to look. The headwaters of the Sarayū and of the Indus come within about 100 miles of each other a little south of Meru (Kailāsa) about lake Mānasa-sarovara. Both the mountain and the lake are famous in Indian tradition, and if the homeland of the Indo-Iranians was in this area, they would of course have had common names for the two rivers. But how did the Indo-Iranians come to have a common name for the Sarasvatī? Only one other great river flowing south or west into India has its origin in the above area, the present Sutlej. During the time the Indo-Iranians lived about Meru, did they refer to the upper Sutlej as the Sarasvatī? And, if so, why did they give the name to another river in India? Several explanations seem possible.

1. The upper Sutlej once flowed into the Sarasvatī. Upon other grounds, Pusalker suggested that the Sarasvatī was as large in the vedic age as the present Sutlej.[1] Such a great Sarasvatī would explain why it commanded so much respect in ancient times, why a change in course of the upper part of the river would diminish the flow so that it disappeared in the desert, how some of the Kurus moved south from the Uttara Kuru country to lake Mānasa-sarovara and then followed the Sarasvatī into India and settled upon its banks.

What was the course of this hypothetical great Sarasvatī? After it issued from the Himalayas it was deflected southeastwards by the parallel Siwalik Hills until it reached the plains, whence it flowed southwestward through the present Saraswati-Ghaggar channels. Its course along the valley between the Himalayas and the Siwalik would have been approximately 1000 feet higher and considerably longer than that of the present Sutlej. But the Sutlej, having its source in the south slope of the Siwalik Hills, cut through that barrier and captured the "upper Sarasvatī."

That is a possible theory, in the opinion of Prof. John B. Leighly, of the department of Geography of the University of California, although he had only a rough commercial map for reference; and of Arch C. Gerlach, chief of the Map Division, Library of Congress, after referring to two Survey of India series of maps at the scales of 1:63,360 and 1:126,720. Near Kalka, 30° 48′ N, 76° 53′ E, between the Siwalik Hills and the

[1] P. 242.

Himalayas, the Sirsa Nadi, a tributary of the Sutlej, comes very close to the Jhajra Nadi, a tributary of the Ghaggar, Mr. Gerlach wrote me. According to the above theory, these would be streams formed in the valley of the old Sarsavatī after its upper course had been deflected into the Śatadru (Sutlej).

Both Leighly and Gerlach thought a more likely place for the capture of the "upper Sarasvatī" by the Śatadru would be on the plains after the river emerges from the mountains, as 30° N, 74° E, where, as Gerlach wrote, "the plain is so flat and the streams so braided that the channels could, and apparently did, change many times. The original topography of the region is obscured by irrigation canals and ditches."

The dry bed of the Nyewal (or Naiwai)[1] lies midway between the Sutlej and Ghaggar where the latter approach within 60 miles of each other in very flat country. Two branches of the Nyewal reduce the greatest distance between stream beds at this place to 15 miles.

Gerlach concluded that "although this is not conclusive evidence that the Sutlej ever flowed into the bed of the Ghaggar, the possibility exists that it did."[2]

So many questions of topography, geology, ichthyology, and geography are involved that I must leave the testing of the hypothesis to the scientists of India who have access to the field.

2. The Sutlej and Sarasvatī were never joined. The Indo-Iranians called the upper Sutlej the Sarasvatī when they lived in Tibet. A band of Āryas started to descend the Sutlej, which they called the Sarasvatī, into India. But, perhaps because of steep canyons or floods, they took a short cut south over the mountains. On reaching the plains of India they came upon a large stream which they thought was the same one they had left in the mountains, and they called it the Sarasvatī.

3. The Indo-Iranians knew the course of the upper Sutlej, which they called the Sarasvatī, as far as the Himalayas when they lived in Tibet. When they invaded India, they descended the Sarayū and started their westward migration. They knew enough about astronomy to know that a certain stream they came upon in the plains of India was flowing south just below the most westerly point they knew on the course of the river they called Sarasvatī when they lived in Tibet. They thought it was the same river and gave it the same name.

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[1] Naimal on the survey map available to the author.

[2] I may not have been the first to suggest that the upper Sutlej once flowed into the Sarasvatī. N. M. Billimora, "The Great Indian Desert . . .," *Journ. Sind Hist. Soc.* 8 (1947), p. 86, wrote as if it were a well-known theory be did not need to elucidate: "Formerly the Indus was deflected by the Rohri Hills directly into the Rann of Cutch, where it was joined by *the river which was supposed to have formed a continuation of the Sutlej and Sarasvati through the now dried-up Hakra (Wahind) canal.*" (The italics are mine.)

All these alternatives suppose that the Indo-Iranians called the upper Sutlej the Sarasvatī. The first surmises that they called the Sarasvatī in India by that name because it really was the same stream they knew in Tibet (the Sutlej-Sarasvatī). The second and third alternatives suggest that the naming of the Indian stream was a case of mistaken identity.

We have not yet considered no. 1 in the list of "countries" of the Vendīdād, the "Vaējah of the Āryas," where there were ten months of winter and two of summer. I am not a student of climates, but I would suppose that could refer to a homeland in the Hindu Kush, in the Karakoram range, the Himalayas, or Meru. Only the Himalayas or Meru meet the requirements of being where the Indo-Iranians would know only the Sarayū, Sarasvatī, and Sindhu, which one of the hymns of the Ṛgveda mentions as the "great rivers"—a hymn that must have been composed when the Aryans still lived in Tibet.[1]

The Dāitya River of the "Vaējah of the Āryas" can only refer to the Skr. Lohitya (Brahmaputra), since it is the only other great river having its source near Lake Mānasa-sarovara that is not otherwise accounted for. The Daityas of the Indo-Aryans were therefore originally those who lived on the Daitya river. According to the Indo-Aryans, Daityas lived on Śveta mountain which was in the east[2].

From the homeland of the Āryas within the Meru (Kailāsa)-Lake Mānasa-sarovara region, what was the route of migration?

The Vendīdād's first five countries would indicate that some Iranians migrated down the upper Indus to what was later known as Iran—to Sogdiana, Merv, Bactria, and Nisaia. There does not seem to be much order here, and perhaps there never was. But it is possible that these countries did not occupy the same geographical position when the Vendīdād was composed that they did in later Persian and Greek times. The Vendīdād does not speak of the country of Sogdia but of Gava where Sogdians lived. We find Sogdians on the upper Indus in the Sogdian Ancient Letters and on down into Nestorian times.

We may guess that the Dardic branch of Āryas accompanied this migration and remained behind in the northwest of India. Possibly some Sanskrit-speaking Aryans also went down the upper Indus and settled in the upper Panjāb, but I know of no direct evidence of it. Although the Indo-Aryans had a better knowledge of the upper Indus than of any other area outside India, they may have gained it by trade.

But there was another migration than that down the upper Indus. In the above list from the Vendīdād, in no. 6, *Harōyū* is followed by *viš harəzana* which Bartholomae translated "wo die Häuser verlassen werden," but the passage has not been understood. It is clear now

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[1] Ṛgv. X. 64. 9. [2] Kirfel, 60.

that in nos. 6—16 the author of the Vendīdād is describing the second migration of Iranians from Tibet down the Sarayū into India and then west across the many rivers. And at the beginning of this migration, in no. 6, the Iranians have reached the Sarayū, "leaving their homes behind."

The small bits of descriptive matter which accompany the names of the other "countries" from 6 to 16 could apply to many places and are, therefore, often not particularly significant. One can only show that some, at least, are not inconsistent with the interpretation given above.

8. The Urvā- is described as having many pastures. I would surmise from Davies' rainfall map (p. 81) that the Yamunā valley would provide good pastures. There is also mention of evil invaders, who could have been the Kuru on the western bank.

9. On the Xnənta-, which I have identified with the Dṛṣadvatī, lived the Vəhrkānas. Avesta *vəhrka* means "wolf", and Christensen suggested that the name of the tribe was totemic. Before the writer considered the geographical names of the Vendīdād, he had placed the Yādava tribes Andhaka and Kaukura on Map 1 just below the Dṛṣadvatī and had suggested in the index that Kukura "dog" was totemic. I would here identify the Kaukuras and the Avesta Vəhrkānas on geographical and semantic grounds.

10. The Haraxᵛaitī- is described as "the beautiful," which is the way the Indo-Aryans usually described the Sarasvatī.

11. The Haētumant- is described as "the brilliant, the glorious," which would certainly apply as well, at least, to the Śatadru as to the—I would guess—sluggish Helmand.

Here we may have partial phonetic correspondence of the names. Hans Krahe analyzes *-mant-* as the common Indo-Iranian suffix.[1] *Śata-dru* may be analyzed as "(flowing in) a hundred branches," but the vedic *Śutudrī* is of unknown etymology. It is probable, however, that the vedic and later Sanskrit forms are compounds or contain a suffix of some sort. The Iranian root would be *Haētu-* <**Setu-*, corresponding fairly well phonetically with the first part of the vedic *Śutu-*, epic *Śata-*. A pre-Indo-Iranic name **Sätu-*, but with the sibilant initial between *s* and *ś*, and *ä* as in *at*, may have been the native form.

12. The Raγa- is said to have three forts or three tribes. Harappā was a fortified city beside what was once the bed of the Ravi before it changed its course,[2] and nearby is another site[3] which has apparently not been excavated. If the meaning is three tribes, a glance at Map 1 will show that this could be an understatement by epic times.

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[1] *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (1951—1952), p. 161.

[2] Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 1.

[3] Piggott, p. 137.

13. Parāśara has Cakra, a people in the center, and the center in tortoise geography is sometimes very far west.

14. Reference is made to non-Aryan invaders. Here along the Vitastā is the home of the Kaikeyas and the Sindhu-Sauvīras, the Ānava tribes which we saw above were Mongoloid and probably Sino-Tibetan.

16. The Hapta-həndu was described as having intense heat, but at the sources of the Raṅhā- was winter created by the daēvas. The Rasā has not been properly identified. It was evidently a tributary flowing into the Indus from the right. The Vendīdād description would indicate a northern tributary where people lived who followed the Indo-Aryan religion. There is also reference to Taoža invaders on the Raṅhā. Could this refer to the Tuṣāras? If so, the Rasā could be the present Shyok River of Kashmir. If not, it could be any one of a number of rivers flowing into the Indus from the north.

This river coming from a cold country has been excluded from consideration heretofore because it has not been satisfactorily identified, and from the meager data we have been able to note only some limiting conditions.

A number of cultural characteristics of the countries are mentioned in the Vendīdād: pederasty on the Dṛṣadvatī, interrment of the dead on the Sarasvatī, cremation on the Candrabhāgā. I must leave these questions to the cultural anthropologists.

Textual evidence that the Indo-Aryans followed the same route as the Iranians to the northwest depends mainly on the river hymn of the Ṛgveda, where the rivers are named from east to west.[1]

However, there is one important bit of supporting evidence. Indra slew the Āryas Arṇa and Citraratha on the far side of the Sarayū,[2] which is a long way from the vedic center of power in the Panjāb.

From the above evidence we may reconstruct the migrations of the Āryas. Their homeland was within the Meru-Lake Mānasa-sarovara region. They were probably pushed out of there by some more powerful people. Some migrated northwest down the upper Indus; and then the Iranians drove on into Iran, but left some behind, as the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, and perhaps some Sogdians; the Dardic branch remained in northwest India—the Daradas, Kaśmīras, and some of the Khasas (some having been left behind in the Himalayas of Nepal and Kumaon). Some of the Indo-Aryans may have followed this route and remained behind in the northwest, but there is very little to indicate it.

In another migration, the Iranians were the first to descend the Sarayū. They were followed by the Indo-Aryans who forced the Iranians

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[1] Until one comes to what are believed to be the tributaries of the Indus, where one finds the Rasā; Ṛgv. X. 75. 5, 6. Some of the tributaries, including the Rasā, are also named in V. 53. 9 together with the Sarayū.

[2] Ṛgv. IV. 30. 18.

to scatter east and west, where they became the eastern and western Mānavas, the "earliest" race in India. A second wave of Indo-Aryans forced the first Indo-Aryans to flee west to the less rich lands of the Panjāb and it is from the latter that we have the vedic literature. The strongest of the Indo-Aryans, as the Pāñcālas, remained in the rich Ganges-Jumna valleys. The Indo-Aryans of the Ganges-Jumna and Panjāb areas eventually drove the Iranians south, where they mixed with native elements and became the Yādavas and Haihayas, or west into Iran.

That the Iranians had come to India ahead of the Indo-Aryans explains why they were the first in India, the direct descendants of Manu. Later the Indo-Aryans drove south and separated the Mānavas into an eastern and western branch. That the Iranians were the first in India accounts for their not remembering Meru and many other things connected with Tibet. They had left there earlier and they were separated from contact with Tibet by Indo-Aryans.

The above remark applies to the Iranians who fled west, the western Mānavas, perhaps the authors of the Avesta. The Iranians who fled east, the eastern Mānavas, retained traditions about Tibet.[1]

This outline of the invasions from Tibet explains why the Indo-Aryans regarded the Mānavas, Yādavas, and Haihayas as foreigners, and yet wherever these Iranians or part-Iranians settled in India the languages spoken today are classified as Indic, as if descended from Sanskrit. The Iranians of India probably spoke dialects that were closer to Sanskrit than is Avestic—recorded centuries later. Bringing these peoples to speak something close to Sanskrit or Prakrit was about like teaching a modern Roman to speak standard Italian.

We have seen above[2] that the Ṛgveda hymns frequently mention Indra overcoming foes, Dāsa and/or Ārya. Now, although at a later period the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans sometimes fought each other, it is much more likely that the invading vedic Aryans, surrounded by foes, fought most often against Iranian-speaking Āryas, and that it is the latter that Indra overthrew.[3]

During the vedic period in the northwest some of the natives had no doubt been partially aryanized. Half the Kaikeyas, for example, were Aryan. But during the epic period, Pargiter has already noted that the Indo-Aryans were losing their control over the Panjāb. Rather,

[1] See p. 17 and n. 1.

[2] P. 32.

[3] B. K. Ghosh (*Vedic India*, 220—221) observed that with the daiva-worshipping Aryans there came to India also asura-worshippers; and from his mention of Zarathustra's condemnation of orgiastic festivities of the daiva-worshippers, one may conclude that the latter must have been present among the Iranians. Protecting the vedic Aryans not only from the Dāsas but also from the asura-worshipping Āryas no doubt provided Indra with a full-time job.

we should say, there is no evidence that they ever had control over the Panjāb. The Sanskrit-speaking Aryans who had been forced west to the Indus valley composed the weaker branch of the Indo-Aryans and the Ṛgveda shows them to be in continual combat with enemies. It mentions battles and defeat of enemies, but nothing to indicate any extensive and durable kingdom or any lasting peace. Then in epic times the greater part of the Indo-Aryans are concentrated between the Sarayū and the Sarasvatī and they are inclined to look down upon the Indo-Aryans of the Panjāb. That probably was nothing recent. The Ganges-Jumna Aryans had early defeated the vedic Aryans and forced the latter to flee west. They had probably always looked down their noses somewhat at the vedic Aryans, particularly when it came to war or statecraft.

So if we find a difference between the language of the vedas and that of the Mahābhārata, if we find different names for some of the rivers of the Panjāb in the hymns and in the epic, it is not due entirely to a difference of time but because they represent different branches of Indo-Aryans and different migrations.

The greater part of the aryanization between the Sarayū and the Sarasvatī seems to have been carried out by the Vāsavas, who were comparatively late. It is unlikely that the brāhman and kṣatriya varṇas alone could have effected this, and one is led to the conclusion that they were accompanied by a large part of the Indo-Aryan population.

Mackay stated that the end of Mohenjo-daro may be fairly safely dated to the 17th century B.C.[1] In a more interpretative summary on the place of the Indus civilization in general history, Piggott implies invasions before 1500 B.C.[2] and the composition of the Ṛgveda somewhere about 1440—1500 B.C.[3] in an apparent attempt to connect the two.

But the invasion of India toward the decline of Indus civilization may not have been by the Āryas alone. From the appearance of Map 1, the western Ānavas surely had something to do with the eclipse of that culture. If they were the yellow race composing the vaiśya varṇa, they were in India before the Āryas or they accompanied them.

Greeks in India

Since the theory of a central Asian homeland of the Indo-Europeans was evolved, "Tokharian" (a *centum* language) has been discovered north of Tibet. And here we find the homeland of the Indo-Iranians in Tibet. And now Hans Krahe, in a study of Indo-European hydronomy,[4] makes the interesting observation:

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[1] *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 4. [2] P. 238. [3] P. 255.

[4] *Sprachverwandtschaft im alten Europa* (Heidelberg, 1951), p. 24.

„Außerhalb dieses Raumes, der — um es noch einmal zu sagen — von der Westküste Europas bis östlich der Weichsel, von Skandinavien bis zu den Alpen reicht, stehen die übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen; und damit stehen außerhalb etwa auch das Griechische und die Griechen, auch sie natürlich Indogermanen, aber nicht teilhaftig des Kreises, welcher die charakteristischen alteuropäischen Gewässernamen schuf. Nach allem, was wir wissen, sind sie früher nach dem Süden gekommen, als die Illyrier und die Veneter, früher auch als die 'Italiker', wohl schon zu Beginn des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends, ähnlich wie die ebenfalls indogermanischen Hethiter und ihre Verwandten in Kleinasien. Woher sie kamen, ist ungewiß. Vorhistorische Sitze haben sich weder für die Hellenen noch für die Hethiter bisher auffinden lassen, auch nicht mit Hilfe der Namenforschung. Am wahrscheinlichsten dünkt uns, daß ihre Heimat östlich des hier umschriebenen und als alteuropäisch bezeichneten Bezirkes lag."

If students of Indo-European toponymy are looking to the east for the homeland of the Greeks and Hittites, perhaps we shall not be too bold in suggesting that the evidence of the Indic and Greek sources indicating Greeks in India before Alexander should be further investigated. The people of Nusa named a mountain above the city *Μηρός* "thigh," because of Dionysos birth, according to Arrian.[1] But was that the reason for the name, or was it named after Mt. Meru which had been forgotten?

The people of Nusa were quite evidently playing up their Hellenism with Alexander in order to get off as easily as possible—as their possession of ivy, which could not possibly have been brought overland from Greece; yet out of a considerable amount of myth and fiction which had no doubt grown up about Dionysos and Herakles, there is probably enough truth to require careful consideration whether some Greeks may not have remained in India, while others migrated to Greece in prehistoric times, so long before that they preserved no memory of the migration. Herakles was considered a native of the country by the Indians themselves, according to Arrian.[2]

Modern scholars can be no more sceptical of the story of Greeks in India before Alexander than Strabo. And yet Strabo's argument[3] that the peoples through whose countries Dionysos passed would have preserved some record of the event is invalid because they did not pass from Greece to India, but remained in India. Rather we may point out that the Greeks themselves have no record of whence they came. Or perhaps we should say their record has not been correctly read, just as the Indo-Iranian records of their homeland have not been correctly read before.

[1] *Indica* 1. 6. [2] *Indica* 8. 4.
[3] 15. 1. 6–9.

There is some ground for belief that the homeland of the "Tokharians," the Indo-Iranians, and perhaps the Greeks was in eastern Asia, rather than in central Asia. This is not an essay to try to establish eastern Asia as the homeland of the Indo-Europeans, but only to present the evidence found on the two branches of the family with which we are concerned in investigating the ethnography of ancient India.

Situation before the Rebellion

We may here briefly review conditions in India before the Great Rebellion. Map 1 will show that the Ānavas had all but submerged the Indo-Aryans in the Panjāb, but they had themselves become partly aryanized.

We find traces of the Yādavas on the fringe of a vast area in the west: the Vāṭadhāna and the Śālva and the subdivisions of the latter along the Śatadru; then the Kukura, Andhaka, Śūrasena, Abhīṣāha, Paṭaccara, and Uśīnara between the Dṛṣadvatī and the Ganges; below there Mathura, and the former Yādava kingdom of Cedi along the south bank of the Yamunā; and to the east Jaṭhara, Kaukura, Bhoja, and Daśārṇa; then coming west along the Purna were Niṣadha, and Vidarbha; and along the west coast, Daṇḍaka, Surāṣṭra, Nairṝta; and along the lower Indus, Ānarta and Anūpa. Within this peripheral area were the Haihayas, the younger branch of the Yādavas, along the Vindhyas. There is little doubt that the Yādavas and Haihayas had once been the chief power west and south of the Yamunā.

But shortly before the Great Rebellion the Yādavas had conducted a long struggle with the chief power in the east, Jarāsandha, king of the Māgadhas, who had finally forced Kṛṣṇa to flee from Mathurā to the west. And two of the principal kingdoms, Matsya and Cedi, had become aryanized.

The Yādavas were probably already very weak before the Great Rebellion, partly from the losses sustained in the long war with Jarāsandha, partly from aryanization of some of the most important kingdoms, partly from the scattered position of the remaining Yādavas and their lack of cohesion. To say that one was a Yādava still commanded respect in an Aryan, because the Yādavas had been the chief force in the west, and force always commanded respect in an Aryan. But the Mahābhārata seems to know little about the Yādavas. It is not clear whether the Bhojas were Yādavas or Haihayas or both, whether Yuyudhāna Sātyaki and Cekitāna were Sātvatas or Vṛṣṇis, or just what Yādava tribes fled to Ānarta.[1] This confusion is perhaps in part because the

[1] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa seems to use Sātvata for Yādava, or at least for the Yādavas south of the Satpura range (viii. 14). And at a later period Andhakas,

Mahābhārata is not the book of the Yādavas,[1] but in part because of indifference about people who were no longer very important.[2]

In the east the chief powers were the eastern Ānava, to whom the Saudyumna stock offered some support, and the eastern Mānava.

The Aryan strength was along the Yamunā and the upper Ganges. The Pāṇḍavas received very little aid from the Indo-Aryans of the northwest. The Indo-Aryans supporting the Pāṇḍavas were so far in the minority that they would have lost the war, according to their own account in the Mahābhārata, if it had not been for their superior weapons—which the ṛṣis, of course, attributed to their gods[3].

For the line-up of opposing forces, see Map 2.[4]

The southern Dravidians are said to have been on the Pāṇḍava side. Perhaps the Dravidians had been annoyed by encroachments of the Yādavas further north and so favored the Pāṇḍavas. But of course there is enormous exaggeration in the Great Epic,[5] and probably

Vṛṣṇis, Dvaivāvṛdhas, and Mahābhojas were thought to be four branches of Sātavatas (Law).

[1] The confusion is perhaps worse in the Harivaṁśa, but that is later than the Mahābhārata.

[2] They continued to play an important role south of the Vindhyas.

[3] For a discussion of the "divine" weapons of the Aryans, see E. W. Hopkins, "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India . . ." *JAOS* 13 (1887), 296ff., and "On Fire-Arms in Ancient India," ibid., p. cxciv ff., and especially V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India* (Univ. Madras, 1944), pp. 93ff.

In a study of one of the weapons in the Pāṇḍava army, M. B. Emeneau inferred that the Śārṅga, the bow of Kṛṣṇa, was probably a sinew-backed wooden bow with a strip of horn on its belly, giving much greater force. This bow seems to have originated in Siberia or Central Asia, and there is no evidence of it in the Ṛgveda. (From an address before the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society, Nov. 24, 1951, with Prof. Emeneau's permission).

[4] For the Kaurava supporters the writer has also used the list in Cr. Ed. VIII. 4, Roy VIII. 5, which is quite orderless and hence has not been included in the appendix. A few names have also been added from Pargiter's article on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pandavas and Kauravas," *JRAS* (1908), 309–336. Participants in the war, whose geographical location were too uncertain to place on Map 2 were: Kaurava—Aśvātaka, Ārecaka (?), Kānana (?), Govāsa, Cambupa (?), Cicchila (?), Dāsamiya, Pāribhadraka, Prasthala, Māvellaka, Lalittha, Varmila (?), Vikarṇa, Veṇika, Śreṇi, Saṁsthāna; Pāṇḍava—Kumbharsa (?), Tittira, Nākula, Nārāyaṇa, Prabhadraka (see Pāribh- in Kuru army), Maḍaka, Śālveya, Somaka; on both sides—Dāśeraka, Piśāca, Rākṣasa, Nāga.

[5] See p. 1, n. 2. An example closer to the subject under discussion is afforded by a comparison of the digvijayas (list 2 below) with the dyuta list (no. 3 below). The digvijayas show the Pāṇḍavas conquering all India. But the tribute list indicates that the digvijayas were probably actually only punitive expeditions against foreign peoples in the Panjāb, the Himalayas, and the east. Some scattered references to better-known kingdoms follow the list published here; these perhaps represent contributions to help carry out the expedition; and were put down by later poets as tribute. The tribute list suggests that the Pāṇḍavas began their career as military adventurers and semi-mercenaries.

some of this was in the earlier Kuru epic. It is difficult to see how some of the widely scattered Kaurava forces could have rendered effective aid. Since this is primarily a work on ethnography, the array of countries in the Great Rebellion has been of primary interest to show the position of the Aryans, not to make a critical analysis of the allied powers.

Aryans Knew Little Beyond India

The only country outside of India that the Indo-Aryans seem to have known was Tibet as far east as Lake Mānasa-sarovara. To the west they knew only a narrow fringe along the farther bank of the Indus and along the Kabul River. Toward the east they seem to have heard only of the river Lohita (Brahmaputra). The stories about Prāg-jyotiṣa are conflicting. The center of the early state of that name was probably not in Assam, as generally believed, but somewhere in the upper Panjāb, the Himalayas, or Tibet. It appears to have been a powerul empire extending from the Cīnas and Yavanas on the west to or beyond the Kirātas on the east. Its center probably changed to Assam in the post-epic period. To the south the only country outside of India proper which was known to epic Aryans was Ceylon.

To eliminate some enticing theories about the Aryans' extensive geographical knowledge outside of India, we may state that Bāhlīka was not Balkh, Cīna not China, Roman not Roman.

The Aryans had more than enough to occupy themselves in trying to conquer northern India. They were not greatly disturbed by events outside of that vast subcontinent until some foreign tribe actually reached its borders.

Means of Linguistic Identification

Languages cannot be spoken over great areas without some differentiation and I have given the designations of languages of the present time to some of the ancient tribes, particularly in the Dravidian territory, assuming that, although the differentiation was not as great as today, it would provide some guide to the reader. I have differentiated between northern Tamil and southern Tamil, although the knowledge of Tamil dialects is insufficient to provide an actual linguistic criterion. Since the comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages has not progressed far, the assignment of ancient tribes to a particular Dravidian language is necessarily a temporary makeshift.[1]

[1] Some countries basically Kanarese in language may have been classified otherwise here. The study of R. V. Jahagirdar, "Kanarese Influences on Old Marathi with Special Reference to Jñāneśvarī," *ABORI* 11, pt. 4 (1930), 374—397, is not specific enough on dates and places to show whether the Kanarese influence was due to an early Kanarese substratum or to late contact with Kanarese.

Sometimes the identification of the language or race of a certain country or tribe hangs from a more tenuous thread of evidence than I should like it to, but then it is because this was the only clew available. Thus I have found no information regarding the race or language of the Kunti. But there is a reference to the language of the Avanti, as if it were something different from Sanskrit. *Avanti* and *Mahiṣmati* both end in *-ti* and both are the names of Haihaya kingdoms. *Kunti* also ends in *-ti* and it lies between the Haihaya kingdom of Tuṇḍikera and the Haihaya-Yādava kingdom of Bhoja. So I have marked the kingdom of Kunti as Haihaya.

These Haihaya countries lie on the Narmadā except for Avanti, the capital of which lay back from the river, although the country itself probably extended down to it. When I found the city the name of which is usually written *Tripura* was also on the Narmadā, I suspected that the name had been aryanized, that it had originally been *Ti-pura* "the city of the Ti" or "the city on the Ti." Later I found the spelling *Tipuri* in the earliest record of the word, on coins of the second or third century B.C., and I classed Tipura as Haihaya. Afterward I learned that "Tripura" had been the capital of a great Haihaya state.[1]

Among the Western Ānavas the evidence for classification is sometimes more insecure than one would wish. The Yaudheyas and the Kaikeyas are known to be Western Ānavas. And in the same general region as these are the Grāmaṇeyas and the Madhyamikeyas, on whose origin we have no information. I put them on the map as Ānavas because of the ending *-eya* and their geographic nearness to known Ānavas. Later, I found that on coins of about the second century B.C. is found the legend *Majhyamikāya-Śibijanapadasa*, in which the Madhyamikāyas are associated with the Śibi, known Ānavas.[2]

It was probably not *-eya*, but *-ya*, which was characteristic of many Western Ānava names; for *Kaikeya* is also spelled *Kekaya*, and *Madhyamikeya* was also spelled *Madhyamakāya*. Hence I have classed Tārkṣya as Western Ānava: and I suspect that the Matsya, despite the Sanskrit appearance of the name, were also.

Except for *Haihaya*, tribal names ending in *-ya* seem to occur almost exclusively in the region of the Indus and its tributaries, where the known Ānavas are found thickest on the map. And *Haihaya* is obviously not a root with a suffix *-ya*, but a reduplicated word *Haihai* to which Sanskrit added the usual stem ending *-a* for peoples, just as it added *-a* to Tibeto-Burmic *Aṅ*, *Vaṅ*, *Ka-liṅ* or *Kliṅ*, noted above.

But could not a similar thing be said of the other ethnic terms ending in *-ya*? Yes, there is nothing linguistically to prevent our deriving *Yaudheya*

[1] Alexander Cunningham, *Report of Arch. Survey of India* 9 (1879), 54–57.

[2] These coins were found in and about Chitor in southern Rajputana, which Allan recognized was south of the location of these tribes in the early literature.

from a Tibeto-Burmic **Yau-dei*, the *-mikeya* of *Madhyamikeya* from **Mi-kei*, *Grāmaṇeya* from **Gra-ma Nei*, or *Matsya* from **Ma-tsi* or **Ma-tsʻi*. There is, however, still a difference between these terms and **Haihai*. For the latter is reduplicated, and the other terms are not.

Two other ethnic names in *-ya*, *Sukaṭya* (?) and *Saubalya*, will be found outside the Punjāb region on the ethnic map. In the Geography (see Appendix, 1. 9—11) they follow *Matsya*, and I surmise that they refer either to parts of Matsya or to Matsya colonies—in either case to Western Ānavas.

After completing the ethnic-linguistic map, I found a considerable concentration of ethnic names ending in *-tha* or *-ṭha* in the Himalayas in the northeastern region of the Five Rivers. Only one people whose name had such an ending, the Ambaṣṭha, had been assigned by Pargiter to one of the ethnic divisions devised by the Indo-Aryans—the Western Ānava. But we have found above that the Western Ānava were probably Tibeto-Burmans of the West Himalayish linguistic stock, and one of the names, *Kulattha*, was applied to a people who were geographically close to the Kulindas, the ancient West Himalayans, or who were a tribe of that nation. And the first part of the names *Kulattha* and *Kulinda* are the same; compare modern *Kulu*. Hence I have classed all these ethnic names in *-tha* or *-ṭha* as Western Ānava.

In classifying Mundic countries, the ending *-kala* has been used by previous writers. But some peoples of eastern India have been classed as Mundic because their names look more likely to be Mundic than Eastern Ānava, as *Kuṇḍīviṣa*, applied to a people in territory contiguous to Utkala.

Thus, in all these examples the linguistic means of classification does not stand alone but is supported by geographical considerations. And the test of any hypothesis is whether it proves fruitful in further research, and the linguistic means has led to further confirmation in the case of *Ti-pura* and *Madhyamikeya*, as remarked above.

Yet, for the older scholar or the ethnologist, it is hardly necessary to add that any classification made here is only a beginning. If we take a modern illustration, England was named from the Angles; but the Angles were only one of the ethnic components that went to make up ancient England: Kelts, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and probably many a small band or occasional immigrant that we know nothing of. Similarly France was named from the Germanic Franks, but the French are generally thought of as Gauls (Kelts) or Latins. If we had no other knowledge of the ethnic composition of ancient England or France, the linguistic means would give us a valuable clue—but an incomplete picture.

And so none of the countries of ancient India were without racial mixture or without different races and sometimes different languages

within the same kingdom. Some indication of this has been given in the discussion of the varṇas of epic times, or in occasional references to the mixed nature of the races of a kingdom or tribe. Hence this study is not definitive, but only a beginning.

In the index I have given some racial designations based on the work of modern physical anthropologists. In southern India particularly, the work of von Eickstedt seems to offer some ground for the division of states and peoples when the Dravidian languages do not. These modern racial terms are cited rather sparingly, however, partly because the two latest authorities known to this writer, von Eickstedt and Guha, are far from agreement on all points; partly because Guha gives at least two racial designations for each area on his map, without sufficient explanation to make identification possible; partly because of the small size of von Eickstedt's and Guha's racial maps and lack of sufficient identifying geographical features to determine the precise areas.

I have followed von Eickstedt in southern India, because he appears to have been more familiar with that area and because of the simplicity of his terms, and where I have given modern racial terms for northern India I have followed Guha because of his finer distinctions. Somatic measurements for small areas, such as those covered by some of the early nations or tribes, are often wanting, and I have generally preferred to leave to ethnologists the correlation with modern racial terms in northern India.

Some approximate correlations between von Eickstedt's and Guha's terms are

von Eickstedt	Guha
(graceful) Indid	Mediterranean
Gondid	Niṣādic
Melanid	Palae-Mediterranean
Malid	Proto-Australoid

APPENDIX

Location of States and Tribes

Before one can attempt to place a country linguistically or racially, often he must first determine its location. Although the geography of ancient India was not the aim of this essay, this preliminary work has probably occupied two-thirds of the author's time. Since only perhaps a third of the "countries" have been placed upon Map 1, the following lists of names from the Mahābhārata are offered partly in justification of the positions assigned the countries on the map, partly to give for countries not placed on the map some indication of their probable approximate location by their places in the lists between countries whose position is known or tentatively determined, and partly to provide future investigators with a rough work sheet on which they may note corrections, rectifications, or further indentifications.

The location of the more important kingdoms has been known for some time. For the others the writer has been largely dependent on the work of previous investigators. Most of this work was assembled and condensed by Nundo Lal Dey, who added some identifications of his own. But sometimes the identifications by different authors conflict with each other, sometimes they conflict with identifications of other places, and sometimes they rest upon a very insecure or improbable basis. Then the writer's work has largely consisted in editing out the conflicts or eliminating the identification.

Sometimes scholars have made identifications from sources other than archaeological and later than the Mahābhārata, such as the Greek historians, Ptolemy, the purāṇas, Fa-hsien, Buddhist or Jain literature, or the coins of a country. Sometimes tribes moved between the time of the epic and that of the later sources, or the coins were found a considerable distance from where the epic indicates that the tribe lived, and in such cases I have taken the evidence primarily from the Mahābhārata, secondarily from the Harivaṁśa and the purāṇas. That I have not accepted the position assigned to a people by another author does not, therefore, necessarily mean that I think that author wrong, but only that the earliest evidence indicates a different position for epic times.

Fortunately the greater part of the population seems to have been rather well tied down to urban centers by the close of the Mahābhārata conflict, except in forest regions and there the people were circumscribed by geographical factors and more powerful enemies so that movement of peoples within India seems to have been relatively minor or infrequent for some time after the Great Rebellion.

I have been inclined to accept previous identifications if they fit into the frame of reference of known locations and of associations in the Mahābhārata. I have made some new identifications on the same basis.

The surest means has been where a list of places in the Great Epic and in one or more purāṇas both contain some known places and the "routes" followed cross each other at an angle, the place to be identified occurring at the intersection.

The authors of the Geography, the digvijayas, and the purāṇas knew only four ways to locate a people:

1) They could give the general direction in which a country lay, as "in the west" or "in the north." At best such directions are indefinite. Sometimes one will find a country described as in the north and elsewhere as in the west. The authors were not scientific geographers and one cannot hold them too strictly to account. Where I live, near San Francisco, we speak of going south to Los Angeles although it is actually southeast of San Francisco. We speak of both San Francisco and Los Angeles as being in the West because they are both in the West to the greater part of the people of the United States, although Los Angeles is actually to the east of San Francisco.

But some of the directions in the epic seem quite wrong. Thus, in the Geography it is stated that a list of countries are in the north and east when it is obvious that the immediately following countries such as Darada and Kāśmīra are in the northwest. In the lists in the appendix I have given indications of other errors in direction.

The geographical parts of the purāṇas give more indications of direction than the Geography, but their lists of countries are much less complete than in the Geography. And most of the purāṇa list may be found in the Geography:

Purāṇas	Geography
Central	9—13 +
NW	67—74 +, 208—214.
Outside countries	—
N	223—231 +
E	85—92 +, 146—147 +
S	149, 153 +, 155 +, 156—159 +, 180—181 +, 161—164. The purāṇa text very corrupt, names of only a few well-known kingdoms being retained and a few added.
W	+, 193—196 +
On Vindhyas	14—21 +

Numbers are those of entries in the Geography in the appendix, while directions are from the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa; + denotes additional nations not found in the Geography.

It appears that the purāṇas "lifted" a relatively few lines and names and added more directions and a few countries; or the Geography and the purāṇas both drew upon another source, the Geography retaining

most of the names of countries but omitting most of the directions, while the purāṇas retained most of the directions and omitted most of the names of the countries. The spelling in the purāṇas is generally more corrupt than that of the Geography and one needs parallel texts from several purāṇas to see the parallelism with certain lines of the Geography. The latter is more valuable for correcting the purāṇas than the purāṇas are for clarifying the Geography, but the purāṇas are occasionally useful for the latter purpose.

2) Another means of stating location was by relative position. This is the chief means employed in the Geography. A number of countries are mentioned that are contiguous to each other. One may suspect that the original narrator was giving an itinerary of the countries passed, and that when jumps of some distance occur it is because the itinerary of another traveler has begun. A work on the early roads and sea and river routes of India might help place the countries more accurately on the map, but I have found none.

3) The third means seems to have originated with the purāṇas. It is most specific when it is stated that a certain country is on the Vindhya range or on the back of the Vindhya range, referring to the whole complex of mountains in central India. It is actually specific when it is stated that certain countries are mountainous, for they are all in or very near the Himalayas.

4) Astrologers prepared lists in which the countries are said to rest on specific parts of a tortoise (Viṣṇu), as the face, right fore leg, etc. Pargiter, who edited his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which this kūrmavibhāga occurs, referred to it as "an absurd fancy." At first it appeared so to me, for I could make little out of it.

Yet a little study reveals that, although these "tortoise geography" lists may be as late as the fourth century A.D., they are survivals of ancient geography anteceding anything in the Mahābhārata or the vedas. The head of the tortoise faces the Bay of Bengal, which may represent its open mouth, and the description of the countries on the tortoise begins with those in the middle, then the face (E), then successively the right forefoot (SE), right side (S), right hind foot (SW), tail (W), left hind foot (NW), left side (N), and left forefoot (NE). The parallel part of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira "modernized" the text by abandoning the tortoise and substituting the directions given above in parentheses. But in both texts the middle of the tortoise was centered approximately around the Kuru country, so the tortoise was not facing east but almost exactly southeast. This makes his right forefoot extend considerably below the Vindhyas, and his right hind foot, supposedly the southwest, extend approximately over the Indus and its tributaries, i.e., over the NW and W. This would leave the tail extending to the northwest beyond India, and the whole left side of the body, including the left legs—ap-

proximately half the countries named—in Tibet and the upper Indus valley.

It is evident that this tortoise world conception was composed after Aryans had occupied the foothills above the Ganges, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī and while the countries to the north were still well known.[1] If it seems absurd it is no doubt because many countries to the north were dropped and many to the south have been added, leaving the poor animal very lopsided.

The worst distortion of the tortoise geography is that the left side—the north of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā—contains the names of mountains in the central north, it is true, but the recognizable countries are in the Panjāb; and the left forefoot—the northeast of the Bṛhatsamhitā—contains almost entirely mythical peoples: "one-footed," "three-eyed," or descriptive terms: "kingdom of the woods," "gold country," or the countries lie in the northwest of India, or the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā do not agree on the names.

It is apparent that the Aryans had lost most of their knowledge of central Tibet and at least nearly all memory of eastern Tibet, but retained considerable knowledge of the upper Indus valley beyond the Himalayas. The Āryas' migration down the Indus, and down the Sarayū and then east to the Indus explains why the Indo-Aryans retained the memory of countries on the left hind foot (i.e., along the Indus), but had forgotten nearly all about central Tibet, and practically all about eastern Tibet. They had first lost contact with eastern Tibet, then Central Tibet, and last with the upper Indus valley. Their memory depended upon the length of separation.

The present condition of the text of course does not present its original state. The mythical peoples are no doubt due to sanskritization of foreign words: the names of northwestern countries on the left fore (NE) foot are no doubt due to "editing" by copyists. But, because of the corruption of the text, the amount of geographical knowledge we can gain from the tortoise geography regarding ancient Tibet is limited, and can generally be used only when we have some control from other sources.[2]

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[1] It was the period when Madhyadeśa was applied to northern India, for, as Dikshitar astutely observed, if all north India was regarded as the Middle Country, there must have been territory north of there. It does not necessarily follow, as Dikshitar thought, that the Indians recognized it as "being a part of the Indian continent," but only that they knew about it.

[2] The astrologers' geography (including the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the "short text") is interesting from another point of view. After describing the center, the region best known to the authors, it lists countries of the east and then rotates clockwise about the center. Karṇa's digvijaya also begins in the foothill region in the center, goes east, then south, west, and north; i.e., it goes clockwise. Karṇa's digvijaya does have a passing reference to forays to the north before going east,

The Garuḍa-, Garuḍamahā-, and Viṣṇudharmottaramahā-purāṇas follow the Bṛhatsaṁhitā in giving directions, but the text is very short.[1] It does serve, however, to correct a few errors in the Mārkaṇḍeya and Bṛhatsaṁhitā. Thus the countries of the south in the "short text" are all near the Vindhyas, such as one might expect for the early tortoise geography. The short text form *Navarāṣṭra* or *Nara-* (Vdh.) corrects the Mārk. *Mahārāṣṭra*.

All of these sources together give us the means of identifying perhaps a third of the countries and tribes of the Mahābhārata with some degree of probability. I have added some on the map that I believe are located fairly accurately, in the hope that these names will be brought to the attention of some scholar with information which will better define their position. At first I placed question marks after names of tribes whose location was more doubtful, as after *Kaṅka* and *Tuṣāra*, of which I can only state that these peoples were in the far northwestern part of India or beyond at the time of the Mahābhārata, and that these names occur in the texts in a certain sequence which suggests their relative positions to each other and to other tribes and places. They probably were not far beyond the borders at the time of the epic, for, although the tortoise geography indicates that the Aryans were once familiar with the region beyond the Himalayas, the Mahābhārata gives evidence of knowledge of only a narrow strip north of the borders of India. I abandoned the original plan of placing interrogation marks after more doubtful locations, since certainty is only relative. Even for well-known kingdoms such as Kuru, Pañcāla, or Matsya, we cannot define the boundaries by means of treaties or border markers as we often can for European or some

but these were probably considered more as being in the "center." But the Pāṇḍava brothers' digvijayas are definitely arranged in the order: N, E, S, W; i.e., our own order of arranging directions. The purāṇas, as the Mārkaṇḍeya, first list the countries in the center, then in the NW, N, E, S, and W.

All of these, after describing the center, go clockwise around the points of the compass. One may infer from this that the Aryans had sun dials. And it is known they did have something like that; see Burgess, "Sūryasiddhānta," *JAOS* 6 (1860), iii. 1 ff.; xiii. 24. At that time some scholars contended that the Indians' knowledge of astronomy came from the Greeks, a view Burgess thought did not sufficiently credit native ingenuity. The fact that the tortoise geography was clockwise oriented leads one to infer a very early native origin of the sun dial in India.

That, in naming the points of the compass, one began with the east in the earliest period is indicated not only by the tortoise geography but by the Sanskrit language itself, where *dakṣiṇa* is "right" or "south," since one must face the east to have the right hand toward the south; or *paścima* "behind" or "western"; etc.

Chronologically the point of the compass on which one began has rotated counter-clockwise, from the east in the tortoise geography and Karṇa's digvijaya to the north in the Pāṇḍava brothers' digvijayas, to the NW in the purāṇas. Just what significance this may have is not apparent.

[1] See Kirfel, *Bhāratavarṣa*.

Asiatic countries, and there is no country in early India on which more work could not be done in determining boundaries at different times. In the index I have given the names of capitals when known, as providing a fairly accurate idea of the position of the country. On the capitals of countries I have relied entirely on the researches of others.

The position of certain countries has been altered from that generally accepted previously. Thus, Kaliṅga has been placed closer to Vaṅga on the map because of the close association of these countries in the minds of the early Aryans—as Sylvain Lévi has already noticed,[1]—and in the minds of the Greeks—as Monohan has noted.[2] The Kaliṅgas had probably no more than colonized the coast below the mouths of the Mahānada at the time the greater part of the Mahābhārata was composed. I have also altered the position of Ānarta; see Index.

In the Pāṇḍava brothers' digvijayas or series of conquests in the four quarters we are hindered by mention of places and kings who are unknown, or where it is not known which king of that name is referred to. Moreover, in some parts of the digvijayas there is not much order and, try as we may, there probably never will be. There are several possible explanations:

1. The digvijayas were composed rather late. The tribute list (List 3 below) indicates that the digvijayas were actually more for the subjugation of border raiders and were confined to northern India. The very extensive geographical knowledge displayed in the digvijayas also suggests their comparatively late composition. The question arises whether the author of each digvijaya had in mind any campaign at all. Sahadeva's "conquest" looks more as if the itinerary of some traveler had been its basis.

2. If the authors of some digvijayas actually had a campaign in mind, we should remember that military campaigns are not conducted in a straight line; the exigencies of the situation determine the movement of troops.

3. Each digvijaya covers a vast territory and could obviously not represent a single campaign but a series, and the order has probably often been confused.

4. If the account were taken from someone in a subordinate position, it might be rather jumbled because he knew only his own small sector and not the whole plan. Sometimes one gets the impression that the author at the Pāṇḍava capital saw the troops go out and return with prisoners and booty, and that from the tales he heard he pieced together some account of the digvijayas.

5. Original confusion has been increased by insertions and corruption of the text in transmission.

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[1] *Pre-Aryan*, p. 73.

[2] See "Kaliṅga" in Index to Appendix.

Despite defects in the accounts, these digvijayas have probably been used more than any other lists in the Mahābhārata, and when it can be determined that the campaign is following a certain direction, or even when it is known that it is occurring in a certain region, they are valuable.

Besides the Geography and the digvijayas and the tribute lists, other lists of countries in the Mahābhārata have been utilized. Although geographical data from later works, particularly purāṇas, are referred to in connection with the lists in the Mahābhārata, such lists have not been given in the appendix, as the work has been collated by Kirfel.

One of the greatest difficulties in the identifications is the corruption of texts in transmission. Scribes obviously often had more than one manuscript of the same text to assist them. They were among the learned men of their community, but they had lost all knowledge of some of the kingdoms and tribes, and when they conscientiously tried to make sense out of the "nonsense" in the text they often further corrupted the text. Thus by the eleventh century Tāmara no longer had any meaning to an Indian scribe, but at that time the Tomaras occupied territory in the same general region that the Tāmaras had occupied. Changing *Tāmara* to *Tomara* made sense to the scribe and to his readers, and we may infer that it was at this time that the change was made. The scribes were, in some degree, "editors."

We see a similar change made today in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. In one line of Sahadeva's digvijaya, Professor Franklin Edgerton, my former teacher of Sanskrit, changes *Āṭavī* to *Antākhi*, so that the line will refer to Antioch, Rome, and the Greeks. Antioch, Rome, and Greece were intimately associated in history and consequently they are still associated in the minds of western scholars, and hence *Antākhi* made more sense to Prof. Edgerton in connection with Rome and the Greeks than *Āṭavī*. If this line occurred in associations which indicated the western border of India, we might think the author had wandered way off to the west; but the text at this point is referring to the east coast, and Sahadeva sent messengers, no doubt by ship, from there to Ceylon. Fortunately modern scholarship has progressed so far that Professor Edgerton could warn his readers that the change in the text represented his personal opinion, and that he was expressing it with due reserve.

Since the editors had a wide knowledge of Indology and access to copies of the text not included in the critical apparatus, they may have had ample justification for the forms chosen for the text but could not give the detailed resons for their choice. Hence I have given the editors' forms where differing from my own. Where such differences occur they should not be considered as tacit criticisms of some of the forms in the final text of the Critical Edition, but rather as presenting evidence which

calls into question some of the editors' forms which are not clearly supported by the evidence presented in the Critical Edition itself. As correct spelling is important in the identification and location of kingdoms and tribes, and hence for the geography and history of ancient India, it is hoped that editors or scholars at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will provide fuller support of the tacitly questioned forms of the text when the data warrants it.

Frequently the tacit "editing" of a scribe gives us a clew to the location of a people. Thus a scribe's "correction" of *Kuṇḍīviṣa* to *Puṇḍra-viṣa* in a text of the Western recension leads one to infer that the scribe knew that the Kuṇḍīviṣas lived in Puṇḍra. That this conclusion cannot be far wrong is shown by the two occurrences of *Kuṇḍīviṣa* in the lists, once with *Puṇḍra* and once with *Muṇḍa* or *Suhma*.

Occasionally the early Indo-Aryans referred to an area that they knew little about by a descriptive term, such as *Paśu-rāṣṭra* "cattle-country," *Gopa-rāṣṭra* "country of cowherds," *Aṭavī-śikhara* "forest-peak," and these descriptive terms, taken in connection with the frame of reference of known locations in the same part of the text, assist in their identification. These early descriptive terms were usually quite matter of fact and unimaginative. In works that have been handed down to us only in later and more corrupt versions, we find a great growth of descriptive terms, ranging from fanciful to fantastic, as *Vyāghra-mukha*, *Dīrgha-grīva*, *Ekekṣaṇa*, *Aśva-keśa* in the astrological treatises. In the purāṇa lists of a still later date we note degeneration of geographical knowledge in another manner—the shortening of the lists and the corruption of the spelling to agree with places then known. In Buddhist times the geographical list appears to have been reduced to a few well-known ancient kingdoms, which did not necessarily represent the status of India of the Buddhist period. In sum, we may say that in ancient times the vedic Aryans knew little of geography, that knowledge of the geography of India reached its peak during the epic period, that in following centuries India passed through a sort of Middle Ages when "schoolmen" made compendia of the knowledge of the ancients—some of which were inserted in the Mahābhārata,—and that as knowledge continued to decline these compendia became shorter and more corrupt.

A survey of the geographical knowledge in the Mahābhārata and later works shows so much corruption and sanskritization, that it seems probable that many of the national and ethnic names in the epic were originally not Sanskrit, and hence when the name of a country or people makes any sense in Sanskrit or when it refers to some person or thing familiar to Sanskrit speakers, it is suspect unless it is an ordinary descriptive term, and the meaning of a term has often been given below to indicate this scepticism.

In the following appendix I have inclined more toward accepting the spellings of the oldest dated, or approximately dated manuscripts cited for any one passage than have the editors of the *Critical Edition*, who favor the Kashmirian recension. Professor Edgerton wrote me on this matter: "Practically all Indian manuscripts, and certainly all that I know of, of any parts of the Mahābhārata, are so late (the oldest rarely before 1500) that their relative dates are of no practical importance, since they are all much more than 1000 years later than the composition of the Mahābhārata. When the editors of the Mahābhārata speak of a manuscript as good or bad, these judgements are based on a study of the readings of the manuscript as a whole. A 'good' manuscript is one whose readings, when compared with those of other manuscripts, seem to the editor on the whole to be close to the original." He added his belief that the $Ś_1$ manuscript of the Kashmirian recension "is probably the best representative of the common original."

The editors have had many problems to consider, while here the sole interest has been the minor one of determining the spelling of a few hundred geographical names, and on this small point I have not found the Kashmirian recension particularly trustworthy.

Editorial choice of a manuscript as good or bad brings in subjective factors over which one has no control. We shall always have some subjective selection independent of dating, because the oldest manuscripts certainly have some faults. But I think all students of the Mahābhārata would be delighted if we only had a copy of the epic from the buried library near Tun-huang, for we would know that no errors or additions or subtractions had been made in the manuscript during the last thousand years. We do not have any such ancient manuscript of the epic. But we do have some dated, or approximately dated, around 1500. Of these we can say that no errors have crept in during the last 450 years. Of a manuscript dated 1750 we can only say that no scribal errors have been made during the last 200 years, and of one dated 1850 during the last hundred years. Consequently I do not see how we can uncritically state that relative dates are of no practical importance. Moreover it is a reasonable inference that often a manuscript has been kept for 450 years because it was itself copied from an old manuscript and hence its owner considered it particularly valuable.

Kashmir has long been highly regarded as a center of learning, and there has probably been much more activity in copying manuscripts there than there has been in a place not so highly regarded, as Nepal, whence some of the oldest dated manuscripts of the epic come. Before 1769 Nepal was ruled by Newars, a Tibeto-Burmic people with a respect for Sanskrit so great that the greater part of their literary vocabulary comes from Sanskrit; but I doubt if an Indian would think of Nepal as a center of Sanskrit learning comparable to Kashmir, and there would

not be a such a great turn-over of manuscripts in Nepal. Moreover I have found that a person established at a great center of learning can often be much more careless than one who is not. And so we may guess that a copyist in Kashmir, with a great reputation, could be less accurate with proper names than one in Nepal.[1]

Moreover one can usually trace the corruption of a name from earlier to later manuscripts: through the copyist's mistaking one written letter for another of similar appearance; through substituting one letter for another of similar sound—as if the copyist spoke the word to himself while copying, but mispronounced it, as by substituting one cerebral stop for another; through assimilation; through shortening the word; through "editing," substituting a word familiar to Sanskrit speakers for a "senseless" native name; etc. I have sometimes tried to indicate possible development of later forms from earlier through my arrangement of the forms, although this will not always be clear to one not familiar with the script.

Toward the left margin of the lists I have placed the forms that seem the most likely to be correct, judging from the variants cited in the Critical Edition. Often these are the same as those given in the text of the Critical Edition, not always because I am in complete agreement with the editors on that particular word, but because the text is so corrupt or the data cited so insufficient that I could suggest nothing that seemed closer to the original. I have given the forms preferred by the editors when different from those at the left margin. In attempting reconstructions I have taken no account of meter or whether the inferred original conformed to Sanskrit phonetically or semantically, because I doubt if the authors were always good poets and because the majority of the names were probably non-Sanskrit.

Whatever merits the Southern recension may have, the conservation of geographical names is usually not one of them Although there is no absolute uniformity in the transformations, the tendency to change certain Sanskrit phonemes into others could easily be formulated, but to do so would be outside the objective of this essay. The southern forms have seldom been cited here and then usually because they have some bearing on the northern forms.

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[1] To prevent any misconception, no reference is made here to any living scholar even remotely connected with Sanskrit or India.

1. The Geography[1]

Dated manuscripts: D_1 1640; D_2 1673; D_8 1684; K_5 1686; K_3 1694; Da_2 1697; D_4 ca. 1700; $Ś_1$ 1739; B_3 1749; B_2 1761; K_2 1771; D_6 1779; K_1 1783; M_2 1853.

D_2 and $K_{3.5}$ agree very closely on the spelling of words in the Geography, as the editor of the Critical Edition has remarked regarding the readings of these manuscripts in general.

6.10.37 Upper Yamunā region (1—13 in C region, according to pur.)
1. *Kuru-Pāñcāla*
2. *Śālva-*
3. *Mādreya-*[2]
4. *Jāṅgala*

38 .... A little further S[3]

5. *Śūrasena*
6. *Kulinda* (Da D_5 *Kulimda*, *K_2* *Kulimga*, Bel. *Kaliṅga*, B Dn $D_{4.8}$ *Pulimda*; pur. *Bhadrakāra*)[4]

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[1] Roy's translation, VI. 9ff. Abbreviations for versions are those used in the Critical Edition: B, Bengali version; D, Devanāgarī (composite) versions other than K; Da, Devanāgarī version of Arjunamiśra; Dc, same of Caturbhujamiśra; Dn, of Nīlakaṇṭha; G, Grantha; K, Kashmirian or Devanāgarī transcript of the Śāradā version; M, Malayālam; S, Southern (Grantha, Malayālam, Telugu) recension; Ś, Śāradā (Kashmir); T, Telugu.

Other abbreviations used here: Bel., Belvalkar, editor of the Bhīśma- and Śāntiparvans, *Critical Edition*; Bṛ., Bṛhat., Bṛhatsaṁhitā; Edg., Edgerton, editor of the Sabhāparvan, *Critical Edition*; exc., except.; Mārk., Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa; p., pur., purāṇa or purāṇas; peo., people; Suk., Sukthankar, editor of the Āraṇyakaparvan, *Cr. Ed.*

When part of the anatomy of a tortoise is referred to and when a direction follows, as "on the left hind leg and in the NW," the reference is respectively to the tortoise geography and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

[2] Matsyap. 114.34 cd, Vāyup. 45.109 cd omit.

[3] The purāṇas suggest the possibility that the Kulindas were in Bhadrakāra and the Mokas in Paṭaccara.

[4] Kaliṅga is too distant to be a possibility. *Pulinda* is possible, but no evidence has been found that the Pulindas extended so far north. But, according to Ptolemy, Kulinda extended down to Mathurā, and Alexander Cunningham published a map, according to Varāha-Mihira (A.D. 550), showing Kulinda extending over a vast area up to the Ganges (*The Ancient Geography of India* [London, 1871], facing p. 1). If there were Kulindas as far south as Mathurā, whether the Kulinda power extended that far south or not at the time the Geography was written, it would explain the apparently long jump from Śūrasena to Kulinda.

7. *Bodha* ($D_{1.3-5.8}$ Dn Da B *Bodha*, $K_{0.2}$ $Ś_1$ *Baudha*, D_2 *Yodha*; Vāyu-, Brahmāṇḍap. *Bodha*)
8. *Moka* ($K_{0.5}$ $Ś_1$ $D_{2.7}$ *Mauka* < *mūka* "dumb, speechless," K_3 D_3 *Moka*, $D_{1.4.5.8}$ Da Dn B Padmap. *Māla*; other pur. *Paṭaccara*)

.. S. of Yamunā, W to E

9. *Matsya* (pur. *Matsya*, except Vāyup. *Vatsa*)
10. *Sukaṭya* ($K_{0.2}$ Bel. *Sukuṭya*, K_4 *Sukuṭṭa*, Brahma-, Brahmāṇḍap. *Mukuṭa* (*s* misread as *m*), B_3 D_3 *Sakuṭṭa*, D_2 *Sukaṁṭa*, (position of sibilant and guttural stop consonants reversed:) Da D_5 *Kuśaṁḍa*, B_2 *Kuśāṭṭa*, $B_{1.4}$ Padmap. *Kuśaṭṭa*, Dn_1 D_4 *Kuśadya*, Dn_2 D_6 *Kuśalya*; Mārk. *Aśvakūṭa*, Matsyap. *Kirāta*, Vāyup. *Kisaṣṇa*, *-ṭa*)
11. *Saubalya* (also *Sauvalya*; Brahmāṇḍap. (Skr.) *Sauśalya*, other pur. *Kulya*)
12. *Kuntala*
13. *Kāśi-Kośala*

39 .... Going SE (nos. 14—16), then possibly W (no. 17)[1]. (On the Vindhyas in the pur.)[2]

14. *Cedi-Vatsa* (Da_2 $D_{5.6.8}$ Dn B *-Matsya*)
15. *Karūṣa* (so $Ś_1$; T G *Karūśa* (except T_1 G_4 *Kurūśa*), $K_{2.5}$ *Kurūṣa*)
16. *Bhoja*
17. *Sindhu-Pulindaka* (i.e., Pulindas from the Indus, Dravidians)[3]. Pur. *Kiṣkindhaka*[4].

..

18. *Uttama* (Bel. *Uttamauja*; most pur. *Uttamārṇa*)
19. *Daśārṇa*
20. *Mekala*
21. *Utkala*

40 .... To NW (through 27 or 28)

22. *Pāñcāla*

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[1] Whether the direction is SE throughout this line, depends upon how far north the Pulindas had pushed below the Bhojas.

[2] After *Karūṣa* the purāṇas insert the whole next line, reversing the first two pairs of words, so that the order there is 14?, 15, 20, 21, 18, 19.

[3] The present position of the Brahuis in Baluchistan, west of the Indus, leads to the conclusion that Dravidians must once have been on the Indus. For the Brahuis would have had to cross the Indus to reach their present home from the Deccan, or the Deccan Dravidians would have had to cross the Indus if they came from the west. I have found nothing to indicate that Dravidians were on the Indus at the time the Mahābhārata was composed; but *Sindhu-Pulindaka* would suppose at least a tradition that the Pulindas (Gonds) had occupied an area on the Indus.

[4] Entirely out of place here.

23. *Kauśija* ($D_{1.6.7}$ $K_{4.5}$ *Kauśika*, D_3 *Kośika*). *Kauśika* on left forefoot (NE), which this country apparently is not.
24. *Naika-pṛṣṭha* "many heights"[1] (referring to the country) (so $D_{1.4.5.7.8}$ B; Bel. *Eka-pṛṣṭha* "a single high point " K_4 *[A]py-eka-pṛṣṭha* $Ś_1$ *-vṛṣya*, $K_{0.1}$ *-dhṛṣya*, K_2 *-dṛṣṭya*)
25. *Yugandhara* (D_8 Dn *Dhuraṁdhara*). Both mean "bearing a yoke". A town in the Araṭṭa-Bāhlīka country (Mbh. VIII. 44. 2062).
26. *Go-dha* "possessing cows" (so $D_{1.7}$ Da_2 K_{3-5} B_3; $D_{2.5}$ *Gādha*, $B_{1.2.4}$ Da_1 Dn $D_{3.4.8}$ *Bodha*, Bel. *Saudha*)[2]

. .

27. *Madra*
28. *Bhujiṅga*
29. *Kāśi*
30. *apara-Kāśi* "opposite Kāśi, further Kāśi, lower Kāśi"

41 . . . . Journey S began with no. 28 or 29

31. *Jaṭhara*
32. *Kukura* (D_3 $K_{3.5}$ *Kurkuṭa*, D_2 *-kaṭa*, Bel. *Kukkuśa*). Did Kukuras live with Bhojas or Daśārṇas?
33. *su-Dāśārṇa* ($K_{0.2}$ $D_{4-6.8}$ Da Dn B *sa-Daśārṇa*)

. . E to W, N of Vindhyas

34. *Kunti*
35. *Avanti*
36. *apara-Kunti* (i.e., the Kuntis who fled west, from fear of Jarāsandha)

42 . . . . Headed E? then SW?

37. *Go-vinda* "herdsman"; cf. modern town Govindgarh, S of Rewa in Kaimur range. (Da Dn $D_{4.5}$ *Go-maṁta* "having cows"; purāṇas have in E: *Māla* (some *Malla*), *Magadha*, *Go-vinda* (Vāyu) or *Go-manta* (Mārk.).[3]
38. *Mandaka* "foolish, simple" (referring to barbarians, Mundic peoples?)
39. *Ṣaṇḍa* (K_3 *Tvaṁdhra*, D_2 *Tvaṁdha*, D_1 *Dhāṁdra*; Padmap. *Puṇḍra*)
40. *Vidarbha-*
41. *Nūpa-vāsika* (K_4 *Nṛpa-vāsika*, K_1 *Rūpa-*, Padmap. *Nṛpa-vāhika*, $D_{1.4.5}$ Da Dn_2 *Rūpa-vāhika*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Sukha-vāsika*)

. . In NW Deccan

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[1] "Many-backed", according to Monier-Williams.
[2] In Hilgenberg, this entry belongs in next line.
[3] Matsya *-narda*, Brahmāṇḍa *-vala*.

42. *Aśmaka* (D_1 *Alaka*)
43. *Paśu-rāṣṭra* "cattle-country" (so D_1; $D_{2.7}$ $K_{3.5}$ *Pāṁśu-rāṣṭra* "dusty-, sandy-country," K_4 B_3 *Pāṁḍu-* "yellowish white," Bel. *Pāṁsu-*, Padmap., Da $B_{1.2.4}$ Dn $D_{4.5.8}$ *Sottara*). The second and third forms above would seem to apply to a desert country, like the meaning of Vidarbha; some have supposed that in ancient times this region was more arid. Insufficient evidence for this has been adduced, and the D_1 reading seems preferable since it forms a pair with the following entry in describing a little known country.
44. *Gopa-rāṣṭra* "country of cowherds"[1]
45. *Kanīḍaka* (so $K_{3.5}$ D_2; $D_{1.7}$ *Kanīnaka*, D_3 *Kanītaka*, K_4 *Kalītaka*, K_0 Bel. *Panītaka*)

43 .... E? in the Vindhyas.

46. *Ādi-rāṣṭra* "first (i. e., 'primitive'?) -country" (so $D_{1.2}$ $K_{1.3.5}$; D_3 T_1 G *Ādi-rājya*, later MSS *Adhi-rājya*)
47. *Śumakṛtva* (D_2 *Śamakūṭa*, K_5 D_3 *Śamakuṭṭa*, K_3 *Śamakrūra*, D_1 *Sukṛtva*, K_1 *Sukaṁṭha*, M *Sukaṁda* [$M_{2.5}$ *-kuṁ-*], Bel. *Sukuṭṭa*; by metathesis D_8 *Kuśaṁṭṭa*, Da D_5 *Kuśaṁḍa*, B *Kuśaṭṭa*, Dn $D_{4.5}$ *Kuśādya*)
48. *Vali-rāṣṭra* (so $D_{2.7}$ K_{2-4}; $M_{1.3-5}$ *Vallī-*, M_2 *Valli-*, Bel. *Bali-*, late MSS *Malla-*) (= *Val-kala*?)
49. *Kevala*

. .

50. *Vānavāsyāpavāha* (so $D_{2.7}$; Da_1 *Vānavāsyopavāha*, D_1 *Vātavasyāpavāya*, K_5 *Dānavasyāpavāha*, Da_2 *Vānarāḥ*, D_8 *Vāravāsyāpavāha*, K_3 *Vānavāścāpavāha*, $K_{0.1}$ *Vānarāsyāḥ Pavāha*, Bel. *Vānarāsyāḥ Pravāha*; Padmap. *Upavāsya*)
51. *Vakra* "cunning." See next entry.
52. *Cakradhara* "wheelbearer" (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Vakrāś-Cakradhara*, $D_{1.6}$ K_4 B *Vakrāś-Cakrāti* [D_1 *-vat*], and by assimilation of initials in later MSS, Da Dn_2 $D_{4.5.8}$ *Vakra Vakrāti* [Da_1 D_8 *-kra-*])
53. *Śaka* ($D_{1.2.7}$ $K_{3.5}$ *Saka*)[2] Cf. 3.54 where associated with *Kevala*; see 49 above.

44 .... In the E, generally on Ganges

54. *Videha* (Bel. *Videhaka*)
55. *Māgadha*

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[1] Nos. 43 and 44 between Aśmaka and the Western Ghats, i.e., in cattle country (*Constable's Atlas*, pl. 12).

[2] This entry belongs geographically with Videha, which follows.

56. *Suhma* ($D_{1.4}$ Dn B_2 *Svakṣa*, K_4 *Sūkṣma* "small, minute")
57. *Malaja, Maladya?* ($D_{1.4.5.8}$ B Da Dn K_4 *Mala-ja* "born from filth, living in filth," $D_{2.3.7}$ $K_{3.5}$ M_2 *Mala-da* "producing filth," M_1 *Malāṭa*)[1]
58. *Vijaya* "victory" (*Pra-vijayas* in E, according to pur.; see no. 91 below)

. .

59. *Aṅga*
60. *Vaṅga*
61. *Kaliṅga*
62. *Yakṛllomān* (so K_3; D_6 *-man*, K_5 *Jakṛllomān*, D_2 *Yattalomān*, $Ś_1$ K_{0-2} B_1 *Sakṛllomān*)[2]

45 .... In Bihar and Nepal?

63. *Malla*
64. *Sudeṣṇa* ($Ś_1$ *Sadoṣṇa*, $K_{0.1}$ *Sudoṣṇa*, G_3 *Sudoṣa*, Sörensen *Sudella* for Calcutta ed.)
65. *Prāhūta* (Da_1 Dn $D_{4.6.8}$ K_4 $B_{1.3.4}$ *Prahlāda* "joy,"[3] Da_2 D_5 *Prahrāda* [chief of the Asuras], K_1 *Prahṛta* "beaten," B_2 *Prāsāda* "palace, temple," D_1 *Sūta*)[4]
66. *Mahiṣakarṣaka* "buffalo-plowman" (so D_1 T_1 $G_{1.2.4}$ M; $K_{3.5}$ $D_{3.6}$ *Māhiṣa-*, K_1 *Mahiṣakārṣika*, Bel. *Māhiṣakārṣika*, later MSS corrupt to $D_{2.7}$ *Māhiṣa-varṣaka* "raining buffaloes," or Da $D_{5.8}$ *Mahiṣa Śaśika* [B_2 *Śaśaka* "hare"])

.. Down the Chenab and Indus (67—74 in NW, according to Mārk.)

67. *Bāhlīka* (so $D_{1.4.7.8}$ Dn S;[5] Da D_5 B *Bāhlika*, K_3 D_6 *Vāhika*, Bel. *Vāhīka*)
68. *Vāṭadhāna*
69. *Ābhīra* ($Ś_1$ K_0 *Kābhīra*, K_1 *Kabhīra*)[6]
70. *Kāla-toyaka* "black water," perhaps the inundated area that Pargiter supposed formed a swamp at the mouth of the Indus, but I doubt that it was as large as he thought.

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[1] Belvalkar omits this entry.

[2] Perhaps the initial was like *y in Kukish, which is transcribed by different recorders as *y*, *j*, *z*.

[3] Prahlādapuri was Multan (Mūlasthānapura), according to NLD, without evidence.

[4] This is an example of how copyists have been trying to make Sanskrit out of a foreign word.

[5] T_2 omits.

[6] These Kashmirian forms may have resulted from the attempt to record an initial glottal opening in the language of the Ābhīras. The Kāśmīras probably knew the Ābhīras at an early date.

46 .... On NW frontier

71. *Aparāndhra* (D_1 *Aparāṁdhra*; Bel. *a* for *ā*; Brahmāṇḍap. *Aparandra*, other pur. *Aparānta*, but Matsyap. *Purandhra*). *Aparāntika* on tail.
72. *Śūdra* (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ T_1 $G_{2.4}$ *Śūra* "hero"; pur. Śūdra)
73. *Pahlava* (so K_0 Bel.; great variety with little in common but the initial, and D_1 has *Ṣaḍbhava*; Da_2 D_4 $B_{3.4}$ Padmap. *Paṁkala*, $D_{5.8}$ *Pāṁkala*)
74. *Carma-khaṇḍika* "broken shield" or "piece of leather" (*Carmaraṅgākhya* in NW (i.e., far NW) in Bṛhat.

.. In Rajputana

75. Aṭavī-śikhara "forest peak" (D_1 *Āṭavī-śikhara*, $D_{4.5.8}$ Da_2 Dn B *Aṭavī-śikhara* [B_2 *-śe-*], Da_1 *Aṭṭavi-śikhara*; by error *v* for *kh*: K_2 *Aṭavī-śivira*, $Ś_1$ $K_{0.1}$ *Aṭavī-śavaṭa*, K_4 *-śarara*, D_6 *-sarvara*, and then *b* for *v*: D_2 *robara*, Bel. *-śabara*). Mt. Abo or Aravalli Hills.
76. *Maru-bhūta* "wilderness-beings" (D_1 *Māru-bhūta*, $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B *Meru-bhūta*, K_5 S *Maru-bhūma* [T_2 *-ta*], $Ś_1$ K_0 Bel. *Maru-bhauma*, K_1 *Maru-bhoma*, D_7 *Māru-bhauma*). The Indian desert.

47 ....

77. *Upā-vṛtta* "near-come" (i.e., approaching closer to civilization? or the sea?). See next entry.[1]
78. *An-upāvṛtta* "not approached" (not any closer). ($D_{1.4.5.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B_1 *Upāvṛttānupāvṛtta*, B_3 *Upāvṛttānupāvṛcca*, $D_{2.3}$ $K_{3.5}$ *Udāvṛtta Upāvṛtta*, K_0 *Upavṛccānupāvṛcca*, $K_{1.2}$ *Upavṛścānupāvṛśca*, Bel. *Upāvṛścānupāvṛś-ca-*)
79. *Surāṣṭra* (D_1 *Saurāṣṭra*, Dn D_6 K_4 *Svarāṣṭra*)
80. *Kekaya*. Out of place here; probably a corruption of the original text.

.. About the Rann and in Cutch

81. *Kundāparānta* "the Kunda living at the western border" (D_1 Da_1 K_2 *Kuṁdāparāṁta*, D_7 *Kuṁtāḥ Parāṁta*, K_1 *Kuṁṭaṁparāṁta*, K_0 *Kuṭṭāparaṁta*, Bel. *Kuṭṭāparānta*)
82. *Dvaipeya* ($D_{1.3.7}$ T_1 $G_{1.3.4}$ M_4 *Dvaipeya*, a derivative of *dvaipa* "islander", D_2 K_3 *Dvaitapeya*, Da $D_{4.5.8}$ Dn B K_4 *Māheya* "of the earth, earthen," Bel. *Dvaidheya*)
83. *Kakṣa* "interior of forest; grass, dry grass" (Bel. *Kākṣa*). Matsya Pur. has *Kācchīka* N of Narmadā, along with

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[1] Baudhāyana said the inhabitants of Upavṛt are of mixed origin. (Dharmasūtra I. 1. 32—3). Since, they lived close, apparently, to the Saurāṣṭras (perhaps in the Jodhpur-Palanpur region), they were probably Yādavas.

Saurāṣṭra and Ānarta; modern *Kacchī*, dialect of Sindhī, spoken in Cutch.

84. *Sāmudra-niṣkuṭa* "inhabitant of the seacoast" (D_2 *Sāmudra-kuṁkuṭa*, K_5 *-kukkuṭa*)

48 .... In E, according to pur. (nos. 85—92)

85. *Āmra* (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Āmra*, the only 17th century form cited by Belvalkar. Da_1 *Āṁdhra*, Bel. *Andhra*, and most Mbh. forms cited and pur. forms are similar).[1] *Amarakaṇṭaka* hills were W of Kaliṅga, according to Matsyapur.

Many tribes in the mountains and beyond.

.....

.. Up the Ganges

86. *Aṅga* (pur. indicate **pra-Vaṅga*)
87. *Malada* (so $K_{3.5}$ Da_1; $D_{1.4.8}$ Dn K_4 B *Malaja*; pur. *Mălada*)
88. *Magadha* (so $D_{1-5.7.8}$ Da Dn K_{3-5} B; K_0 *Māgada*, Bel. *Māgadha*; pur. fill in space)
89. *Mānavarjita* (so D_1 K_5; Bel. *Mānavarjaka*; pur. *Mālavārtika*)

49 .... In Assam?

90. *Sahyottara* (D_1 *Sahyottara* "the northern Sahyas" [*sahya* "to be endured; powerful, strong"]; applied to the northern part of the W Ghats. If the reference here is to mountains rather than peoples, the N Sahyas may have been the Garo Hills. $D_{2-6.8}$ Da $K_{3.5}$ B_2 *Sahyu-*, Dn *Samaṁtara*; Matsyap. *Suhmottara* "N. Suhma," other pur. *Brahmottara*; Bel. *Mahy-uttara* "northern country")
91. *Prāvṛṣeya* < *prāvṛṣ* "rainy season," i. e., people living where there is a long or heavy rainy season; therefore Bhutan or the Aka-Dafla-Miri[2] country, the Garo-Khasi-Jainta Hills region, or W. Ghats; see *Constable's Atlas*, pl. 7, or Davies, p. 81.[3] Brahmāṇḍap. (Skr.) *Prāvṛṣeya*, other pur. *Pravijaya*.
92. *Bhārgava*. A brāhman line, which served at or near Ayodhyā and Kanyākubja, and the Bhṛgus conquered the Tālajaṅghas (Mbh. XIII. 34); these two facts

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[1] But one Mārk. text has *Abhrāraka*, with *Abhra-* close phonetically to *Āmra*. In the purāṇas this word was followed by another ending probably *-guraka*, and the first part *Vāmaṅ-* (Brahma) or **Muḍ-*.

[2] Generally so written on maps; better Hruso, Nyisiṅ, Miśiṅ (or Nyising, Mishing).

[3] If either of the first two suggested identifications of Prāvṛṣeya should be correct, the people would be Tibeto-Burmic or Khasic.

would seem to place them in the southern part of the United Provices; but NLD would identify them with the Bhars or Bhors in W Assam.[1]

.. From NE India going west along Himalayas

93. *Puṇḍra* (D_1 K_2 *Puṁḍa*, D_2 K_5 *Muṁḍa*)
94. *Bhārga* (Da_2 D_8 *Bharga* "radiance, splendor," refering to some mountain? Bhagga was a clan E of Kośala between the Himalayas and the Ganges in 6th century B.C., according to Davies, p. 6)
95. *Kirāta*
96. *Sudeṣṇa* (so D K_{2-5} B S, exc. D_6 *-diṣṇa*, D_4 *-deṣṭa*, B_3 *-deṣṭra*, M_2 *-dekṣṇa*)
97. *Yāmuna* (so $D_{1.3-6.8}$ Da Dn $B_{1.2.4}$; D_2 *Praśuna*, K_5 *Prāśuna*, K_3 *Pāṁsuna*,[2] Bel. *Pramuda*; Padmap. *Bhāsura*). The people of Yāmuna mountain.

50 .... Mixed locations; no. 98 in N, no. 99 in N and W, nos. 100—102 in SW

98. *Śaka*
99. *Niṣāda* (which suggested to the mind of the poet:)
100. *Niṣadha*
101. *Ānarta*
102. *Nairṛta* "those in the southwest" ($Ś_1$ $K_{0.1}$ *Nainṛta*, K_5 *Kerīta*, S [exc. $M_{1.3-5}$] *Karṇaṭa*). Compare modern towns *Ner*, Khandesh,[3] and in Wun, Berar.

.. Somewhere in W, and S of Panjāb, probably S of Kāthiāwār, for next three lines

103. *Durgala* (or *Durṣgala*?) ($D_{1.8}$ K_2 *Durgala*, Da Dn $D_{4.5}$ *Durgāla*, $D_{2.3}$ *Dukūla*, K_5 *Dūkūla*, K_3 *Duṣkūla*, D_7 *Duḥśūla*, Bel. *Dugūla*; Mārk. and Vāyu have a *Durga*

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[1] Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 57.34—35, states that along the northern half of the Sahya mountains (i. e., Western Ghats) where the Godāvarī flows, Govardhana is the city of the Bhārgavas. If the D_1 form *Sahyottara* is correct for no. 90 it can refer to the northernmost part of the Western Ghats; and so can *Prāvṛṣeya* in 91 and *Bhārgava* in 92. If this line refers to places in the northern part of the Western Ghats, then it should have followed no. 84 and it has been misplaced in the Mahābhārata or the source from which both the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas took it. I incline to believe that this misplacement occurred, and that the purāṇas have "edited" nos. 90 and 91 to make them conform with the location of the countries which precede and follow this line.

If this is not a misplaced line, Assam seems the best alternative position for the places mentioned in the line.

[2] Baudhāyana said anyone who has visited the Pranunas shall offer a punastoma or sarvapṛṣṭhi (Dharmasūtra I. 1.33). It is probable that he is referring to the same people as the Kashmirian recension, and that they were foreigners. But one is not sure that *Prāśuna* was the form originally in this line.

[3] Therefore probably Bhil.

and Brahmāṇḍa [Skr.] *Durgāla* in W, and S of Narmadā). In region about The Dangs?

104. *Prati-Matsya* "near the Matsya"
105. *Kuntala* (Bel. *Kuṇaṭa* and reverses the order of this and next below: *Kuśalāḥ Kuṇaṭa*). Compare modern town *Kundalpur*, Damoh, Central Prov.
106. *Kuśala* (Padmap. *Kuśaka*)

51 . . . .

107. *Tīra-graha* "shore-, bank-seizing, -holding" (Bel. *-grāha*, K_5 *Nīra-grāha*)
108. *Tara-toya* "beyond the water" (D_1 *Śūra-veya*, $D_{3.6}$ S *Śūra-toya*)
109. *Rājika* (T_1 G_{2-4} M *Rājita* "illuminated, brilliant," Da_2 Dn *Ījika*, Da_1 *Ijika*, $D_{5.8}$ *Itika*, D_4 *Ījaka*)
110. *Ramya-kauṅkaṇa* "delightful Koṅkaṇa" ($D_{1.3}$ *Ramya-kauṁkaṇa*, D_6 *-kaukaṇa* (by error), D_7 *-koṁkaṇa*, T[1] G *Tasya-kaṁkaṇa*, M *Tavya-kaṁkaṇa*,[2] D_2 *Rasya-kāguṇa*, Bel. *Rasyakāgaṇa*, $D_{4.8}$ Dn *Kanyakāguṇa*, Da D_5 *-gaṇa*)

. .

111. *Tilabhāra* (so $D_{1.4.5.8}$ Da Dn K_4 $B_{1.2.4}$; G T_1 *Tilavāra* [but G_4 *Tiramara*], T_2 M *Nīlavāra*, Bel. *Tilaka*). Compare town *Tilwara* in Mallani, Rajuptana.
112. *Masīra* (so $D_{1.4.8}$ Dn; Da D_5 B_2 *Masāra*, $T_{1.2}$ G_{2-4} M [exc. M_2] *Sīra*, K_4 $B_{1.4}$ *Samīra*[3] "wind," $D_{3.6}$ *Bhārasīra*, D_7 *Pārasīra*, Bel. *Pārasīka*)
113. *Madhu-manta* (city of Daṇḍaka; Rām. VII. 92. 18).
114. *Sukandaka* ($D_{1.4.8}$ Dn K_4 $B_{1.3.4}$ T_2 *Sukaṁdaka*, Bel. *Prakutsaka*, D_3 *Prakuṁjaka*, D_6 *Prakūpaka*)

52 . . . . In the NW

115. *Kāśmīra*
116. *Sindhu-Sauvīra*
117. *Gāndhāra*
118. *Darśaka* (see no. 123 below)

. .

119. *Abhi-sāra* ($D_{2.6}$ K_3 *Atīsāra*)
120. *Kulūta* (so Bel.; D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kuṁtala*, D_4 *Kalūta*, B_3 *Kusṛta*, Padmap. *Kudruta*, B_4 Dn *Ulūta*)
121. *Śivala* (so D_1; Bel. *Śaivala*, $D_{2.7}$ Da B_3 *Saivala*)
122. *Bāhlika* (so Bel.; D_2 K_5 *Bāhu-kātara* "arm of cowardice," $K_{3.4}$ D_7 *Bahu-* "great coward")

53 . . . . In the NW and going, I think, through Tibet to E Nepal in next five lines.

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[1] Except T_2. [2] Except M_2 *Tapya-*. [3] By metathesis of *m* and *s*.

123. *Darśīka* (so K_5; K_3 *Darśika*, D_1 *Ka-darthika*, D_2 *Daśīka*, $B_{2.3}$ D_7 Bel. *Darvīka*, Da_2 K_4 *Darvaka*, etc.). See 118 above.

124. *Sanādartha* (so D_1; probably already corrupt. K_5 *Aśmakabha* [whence K_3 Sakaṁbha, Bel. *Sakaca*], D_2 *Asmakata*. From D_1 *-dartha* has come K_4 *Dairya*, K_5 Bel. *Darva*, K_3 *Dārva*). *Aśvakālanata* (Pargiter), *Aśmaka* (Dutt) on left hind foot (i.e., beyond the Himalayas).

125. *Balaja* (so $K_{3.4.5}$ D_2; $D_{3.6.7}$ *Valaja* "cave-born," Da D_5 Bel. *Vātaja*). *Valāva* on left hind foot (i. e., beyond the Himalayas); but cf. 184 below.

126. *Ramaṭha* (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Lamatha*, $D_{3.6}$ *Ramaṭha*, Da D_5 Bel. *Maratha*)

127. *Uraga* (D_2 K_3 *Uruga*, K_5 *Uruja*, D_6 *Uraga*, D_3 *Ugara*)

. .

128. *Bahvaraṭṭa* (so Da; D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Bahu-raṁḍa*, $D_{3.6}$ *Bahuraṁdhra*; the B MSS have *ḍh* or *ḍḍh*, but the copyists here have been trying to sanskritize the word. Bel. *Bahuvādya*, as in D_{7m}. Padmap. *Balaraṭṭa*)

129. *Kauravya* "belonging to the Kurus"

130. *Sudāman*. See 2.54.

131. *Sumallika* (so Bel.; $D_{4.8}$ *Sumahlika*, Da D_5 *Sumālika*;[1] D_1 *Suvarcaka*, $D_{6.7}$ K_4 *Suvarṇaka*, D_3 *Suparṇaka*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Suparvata*; cf. these last forms with the next entry, with which there has been confusion)

54 . . . .

132, 133 *Varcaka Hiṁsaka* (D_1 *Carcaka Hāṁsaka*, D_3 *Varcāka Hīnaka* (*hīnaka* "deprived of"); some intermediate steps are missing, but we may infer that *Varca* was written **barba*, and hence Dn_2 *Babhra*, and hence sanskritized to D_7 K_4 *Darbha*. From *Varca* > **varda* came D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Vaṁda*, Padma Pur. *Bandha*, although all the steps are not clear. The second word, with the *-ka* of the first word becoming its first syllable, is more clearly descended from the above reconstructed form: D_2 K_5 *Kahīsaka* [K_3 *Sahī-*], D_7 *Kalīsaka*, B_4 *Karīṣaka*, K_4 *Kubhīṣaka*, Bel. *Vadhra Karīṣaka*). Cf. D_3 *Hīnaka* with *Hiṅga* on left fore foot (NE).

134. *Kulindopatyaka* "Kulindas at the foot of the mountains"

. .

135. *Vanāyu*. (Bel. *Vānāyu*, pl. *Vanāyavaḥ*; cf. *Vanavāhyaka* on left fore (NE) foot. Padmap. *Vanāyu*; see 7.6)

[1] A corruption of 214 below?

136. *Daśāpārśva*[1] Cf. 2.92.
137. *Roman* (K_{0-2} *Ropan*; Hilgenberg's BN_1 *Romāśa*). Edgerton suggests[2] that if *Pārśva-roman* (see entry next above) was the form intended, it could be interpreted "having hairs on the sides or flanks"; certainly it does not refer to Romans.
138. *Kuśa-bindu* "kuśa grass-spot"

55 ....

139. *Kaccha* "shore" (K_2 *Kakṣa* "forest recess," D_1 *Vaccha*)
140. *Gopāla-kakṣa* "forest recess occupied by cowherds or by the Gopālas" (who later ruled Nepal) (so $D_{1.6}$ Dn_1; Da_1 Bel. *Gopāla-kaccha* "shore occupied by cowherds," K_5 *Gopāla-katsa*, $Ś_1$ K_{0-2} *Gopālakāś-ca-*). Compare *Gopalganj* in Saran, Bengal.
141, 142. *Lāṅgala* ("plow") *para-Vallaka* (so Bel.; D_1 *Pari-Lāṁgala*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Pāra-vallaka*, $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn $K_{2.4}$ *Jāṁgala*, Kirfel, Hilgenberg *Jāṅgala*, $D_{4.8}$ Dn K_4 B Kirfel, Hilgenberg *Kuru-Varṇaka*)

. .

143. *Kirāta* (D_1 *Vibhāta* "dawn")
144. *Barbara* (D_2 K_3 *Carcara* "curled or wooly hair")
145. *Siddha* "perfected; supernatural; subdued" (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Sāda*). Compare *Siddhāśrama*, hermitage in the Himalayas between Kanchajanga and Dhavalagiri.
146. *Videha*
147. *Tāmraliptaka* (so $D_{1.2.4-8}$ $K_{2.4.5}$ B Da Dn; K_3 D_3 M T_2 *Tāmaliptaka* [K_3 *Ta-*], Bel. *Tāmraliṅgaka*)

56 .... Listing Mundic peoples?[3]

148. *Oṇḍra* ($D_{1.4}$ Dn K_4 B *Oṁḍra*, Da $D_{5.7}$ *Uṁḍra*, D_8 K_5 *Uḍra*; D_2 K_3 *Tvaṣṭra* looks like another word, another name for the country or some of the people who lived there; Bel. *Oṣṭra*)
149. *Puṇḍra* ($D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn_1 B *Mleccha*, D_1 Dn_2 *Mleṁccha*)
150. *Saisiridhra* (so $D_{1.5}$ Da_2 B; Dn *-riṁdhra*, Bel. *Sasai-randhra*)
151. *Pārvatīya* "mountaineer"

In the S

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[1] Dāsapara on the right side of the tortoise, i.e., in the south. From known countries in the text on both sides of *Daśāpārśva*, it appears to be in the Himalayas, but I am not sure this is not a misplaced line.

[2] Personal communication.

[3] If this line is not a list of Mundic peoples, then the direction is apparently N from Oḍra.

If this part of the Geography is the itinerary of a journey, then the traveler took passage on a ship from the port of Tāmraliptaka to a port in Oḍra.

57 • .... Down E coast of Deccan

152. *Drāvida*

153. *Kerala*[1]

154. *Prācya* "easterner"

155. *Mūṣika* (Bel. *Bhū-*)

156. *Vanavāsika* (so also pur.; Bel. *-sin* "living in a forest")

.. Down W coast, but journey begins with no. 156 above

157. *Karṇaṭa-* (so $D_{4.7m.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B; D_1 *Unadra-*; other readings so varied as to be worthless; pur. substitute *Mahārāṣṭra*[2] or *Navarāṣṭra*, both of which were N of Karṇaṭa. For the early position of Karṇaṭa see Pargiter's *Mārk.*, p. 363 n.

158. *Māhiṣaka* "buffalo-keeper," which could apply to almost any place in India today; see pl. 12 in *Constable's Atlas*. (Pur. *Māhiṣaka*, *-ṣika*)

159. *Vikalpa* (Padmap. *Vikandha*, other pur. *Kăliṅga*)

160. *Mūṣaka* (so Bel.; but $D_{1-3.7}$ K_{3-5} B_2 *Mūṣika*, D_4 *Mūśaka*). A different spelling here and in no. 155 seems to have become traditional, perhaps on the assumption that they must represent different places. But whether the traveler came down the east or west coast, he would reach Mūṣika at the tip of the peninsula.

58 .... Here to no. 172, in central Deccan (roughly the Godavari and Krishna region)[3]

161. *Jhillika* (so Da $D_{4.5}$ B_{1-3}; Dn_1 *Ji-*, D_8 *Ni-*; D_1 *Kuḍaya*, Bel. *Karṇika*; pur. agree on *-ika* and three on *N-*: Vāyu *Nairṇika*, Mārk. *Naiṣika*, Brahmāṇḍa *Neṣṭika*, Brahma *Kaulika*, Padma *Ja-*). The purāṇas also have *Nāsikya-* in the W and S of the Narmadā, which Pargiter identifies with present Nasik, which is probably approximately correct geographically, considering Brahmāṇḍap. (Skr.) *Koṅkaṇa* and the next entry; but the epic forms were not attempts to record anything resembling *Nasik* except for the final *-ika*.

162. *Kuntala* ($D_{1.3-8}$ Da Dn K_4 $B_{1.3.4}$ *Kuṁtala*, pur. *Kuntala*; D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kubjika*, Bel. *Kuntika*)

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[1] Constable, pl. 9, shows Kerala on the east coast. I assume that at one time the country extended from the west to the east coast, which accounts for the order of the countries in the text.

[2] A step in the evolution of the manuscripts was perhaps *Mahāṭavi* (Bṛ.) >*Mahārāṣṭra* (Mārk.), although both have *Karṇaṭa* adjoining.

[3] This location is assigned not only on account of the occasional known countries in this part of the text but also because the middle Deccan was the region of India most inaccessible and least known to Aryans, and this part of the

163. *Sauhṛda* "friend" (so $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B; D_6 *Saudrava*, D_7 *Sodbhida*, Bel. *Saudbhida*, D_2 K_3 *Māhida*, K_5 *Ma-*; Vāyu, Mārk. *Andhra Udbhida*)[1]
164. *Nala-kānana* "reed-forest" or "Nala-forest" (so $D_{4.8}$; Da D_5 *-kānala*, Da_1 *Nāla-*, $D_{6.7}$ *Nala-kālika* "reed-heron," Bel. *-kālaka* "black," Dn K_4 B *Nabha-kānana*; pur. **Nala-kālaka*). From its position here and in purāṇa lists, it was probably between Kuntala and Andhra or between Andhra and Cola, perhaps along the Kistna and the Nallamalai mountains, hence modern Chenchus (Malid)

. .

165. *Kaukuṭṭaka* (D_8 *Kaukudaka*, B_4 *Kaukkuttaka*, B_{1-3} *Kokuḍḍhaka* [B_3 *Kau-*], D_3 *Kokuḍaka*, K_4 *Kokuṭaka*, K_1 *Kaukuṁṭhaka*, Da_1 *Kaukuṃḍaka*, D_6 *Kaukuddika*, D_7 *Kokaṭṭaka*, $M_{1.2}$ *Kokkuṭṭaka*, $M_{3.4}$ *Kukuṭṭaka*, G_1 *Kokuṭāka*, T_1 *Kaukkūṭaka*, G_2 *Kaukkūṭakū*, G_4 *Kaurkūḍhaka*, D_1 *Kākuvṛkṣa*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kutūhala* [D_2 *-haka*]). Since the earliest datable forms, the last two cited, in the eastern and western recensions respectively, differ so widely from each other and from all other forms, one may suggest that there were three synonyms; that one of these, the one generally represented in the eastern recension (exc. D_1) may have been an older form of today's *Koḍagu*, Kanarese dialect of Coorg; and that the western recension presents an older form of today's *Kota*, a Dravidian language spoken in the Nilgiris. Both are close to the following *Cola*.
166. *Cola* ($D_{1.5.6.8}$ Da_2 *Caula*, D_7 *Coḍa*)
167. *Koṅkaṇa* ($D_{2.3.5}$ Da Dn_1 K_5 *Kauṁkaṇa*, K_3 D_6 *Kaukaṇa*, K_2 G_2 *Kokaṇa*)
168. *Paṇava nara* (*paṇava* "small drum or kind of cymbal used to accompany singing," *nara* "man") (D_1 *Paṇavā Narāḥ*, $K_{3.5}$ $D_{2.3.6}$ *Maṇava-* [D_6 *Mā-*], $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B *Mālavā narāḥ* (*mālava* "horse keeper"), K_1 *Sālavāṇaka*, Bel. *Mālavāṇaka*; Padmapur. *Maṇivālaka*). One can trace the development in datable manuscripts from *Paṇava-* > *Maṇava-* > *Māṇava-* > *Mālava-*. This last is also shown to be incorrect, for it is quite a jump from Cola and Koṅkaṇa to modern Malwa, and the author has not yet finished in the Deccan.

Geography is the most troublesome because of the corruption of the text — indicating unfamiliarity with the region.

[1] A district in Kuśadvīpa.

Cf. D_1 form with modern town *Panwel*, about 20 miles E of Bombay city.

59 ....

169. *Samaṅga* (on the river Samaṅgā?)

170. *Kopara* (D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kaupara*, D_1 *Kopaśa*, T_2 $G_{1.3}$ *Kopaka*, Da D_5 B_{2-4} *Kanaka*, D_8 B_1 *Karaka*, Bel. *Kopana*). Compare modern town *Kopar-gaon* on Godavari in Ahmadnagar, Bombay.

171. *Kukuraṅga* (D_1 *Kukuraṁga*, T_1 G *Kuraraṁga* [G_1 *Kuna-*, G_3 *Vaku-*], $M_{1.3-5}$ *Kukkurāṁga*, $D_{4.5.7.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B *Kukurāṁgāra*, K_2 *Kukkurāṁgāda*, K_0 *-gada*, Bel. *Kukurāṅga-*; D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kukkurā atha* [K_5 *Kuku-*]). In the earliest datable document (D_1) this is not two words, *Kukura* and *Aṅga* or *Aṅgāra* or *Aṅgada*, but one. And as far as I know there were no Kukuras in Aṅga and no Aṅgas associated with Kukuras.[1]

172. *Māriṣa* "worthy or respectable man"

.. Probably in NW; a misplaced line

173. *Dhvajiny-utsava-saṅketa* (Bel.; *dhvajinī* "a bannered host, an army", but D_2 [earliest cited] *Vajiny-*)

174. *Trigarta* (Bel.) "country of three strongholds." According to NLD, N. Kanara.

175. *Śālvaseni* (so $D_{1.4.5.8}$ Da Dn $K_{2.4}$ B; Bel. *Sarvaseni* D_2 K_3 *Savasāti*)

60 .... S. of Vindhyas?

176. *Vṛṅka* (D_1 *Aṅka*, Da D_5 *Vṛka*, K_1 *Vṛṁga*, $K_{0.2}$ *Vyaṁga* [S entered this in place of *Cola*, no. 166 above: M *Vyaṁga*, exc. M_3 *-gya*, T_2 *Bhyaṁga*, T_1 G *Bhṛṁga*], Dn D_8 *Vyuka*, D_4 $B_{3.4}$ *Vyūka*, $D_{3.7}$ *Tryaṁka*, Bel. *Tryaṅga*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Yātrāṁka* [*Yātrā-* < *Tryā-*; T G also borrowed this form]). *Vyāghra-grīva* on Vindhya range and right forefoot.

177. *Kopuraka* (so D_1; D_3 *Korūṣaka* [with vowels still in same place], B_1 *Koruka*; D_8 Bel. *Kokaraka*, Da D_5 *Kokanakha*, K_4 *Kokanaka*)

178. *Proṣṭa* "stool" (so D_2 K_3 B_1; D_6 *Koṣṭa*; T $G_{2.4}$ *Śreya*, $G_{1.3}$ *Śeya*)

179. *Samavegavasa* (so $D_{1.4}$ Dn $B_{1.3}$; $D_{7m.8}$ $B_{2.4}$ *-vaśa*, K_4 *Samavegaruma*, Da D_5 *Sarū Vegasara*; K_5 *para-*

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[1] I believe this is in the Deccan and has no connection with *Kuraṅga* "antelope, deer," the country or mountain mentioned in Mbh. XII. 25. 1699, where Indratoyā is near the mountain Gandhamādana and next to Karatoyā in Kuraṅga. Gandhamādana seems to have been NW of Meru and part of the Kailāsa Range.

Mārtarava, D_2 K_3 *-Martarava*, D_3 *pāra-Maṁcaratha*, $K_{1.2}$ *para-Saṁcāraka*, Bel. *-Saṁcaraka*)

.. Central Vindhyas

180. *Vindhya-Cipulika* ($D_{4.8}$ Dn $B_{2.4}$ K_4 *Viṁdhya-Culika*, [B_1 *-Nulika*], Da D_5 *Viṁdhya-cchulika*, K_5 *Ciṁtya-Vipula* [< **Viṁtya-Cipula* by exchange of first akṣaras], D_2 *Citya-Pulaka*, K_2 *Viṁdhya-pulika*, K_1 *-Pulaka*, Bel. *Vindhya-pulaka*;[1] Matsyap. *Vindhya- puṣika*, Vayup. *-mūlika*). *Śūlika* in SE (i.e., in Vindhyas), and next to *Vidarbha* (Bṛhat.).

181. *Pulinda*

182. *Valkala* (so D B S $K_{2.4}$, exc. D_2 *Balvala*, T_1 *Vallaka*, G_4 *Vallala*, T_2 *Vallava*; K_5 *Bāṣkala*, Bel. *Kalkala*)[2]

61 .... In Himalayas

183. *Mālava* "horse-keeper" (so $D_{2-5.7.8}$ Da Dn $K_{4.5}$ B; T_1 G M *Mallika* [M_4 *-llī-*], Bel. *Mālaka*; D_1 *Hālava*)

184. *Ballava* "cowherd" (so $D_{4.5.8}$ Da B K_4; $D_{1.6}$ *Ballaka*, D_3 *Vallaka*, K_5 *Pahlava*, D_2 *Panhava*, Bel. *Mallaka*). *Valāva* on left hind foot (i.e., beyond Himalayas); but cf. 125 above.

184a. *Apara-Vartaka* ($Ś_1$ *-Vṛttaka*, D_3 *-Vartaya*, K_5 *-Vallaya*, D_2 *-Pallaya*, $D_{4.8}$ B_4 Dn *-Ballava*, D_1 *-Maṁtapa*; Padmap. *Apara-Vartaka*)

.. In Himalayas(?)[3]

185. *Kulinda* ($D_{2.3}$ K_2 *Kuṇiṁda*)

186. *Kālada* (so $D_{4.5.8}$ Da_2 Dn_1 B; Dn_2 *Kālava*, $D_{3.6}$ *Kulika*, Bel. *Kulaka*; D_2 K_5 *Kukuṭa*, T_1 $G_{2.4}$ *Kukkuṭa*). Compare modern village *Kaladbungi* in Naini Tal, Kumaun, N. W. P.[4]

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[1] In the purāṇas, Cūlikas were listed among foreigners (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3), and Matsyapur., MS d (1525 A.D.) has *Bāhlīka* in place of *Cūlika;* Vāyu g (1483 A.D.) omits. Cūlika was a kind of Piśāca language (Grierson, "Paiśācī"). The text has been corrupted here to the *Culika* which was better known when the purāṇas were being written.

[2] The purāṇas reverse the order of the first two words, and the direction there is WSW: *Pulinda*, **Vindhya-Sulika* (?), *Vidarbha*, *Daṇḍaka*.

[3] In the north? The question here is whether the author started north of the Vindhyas with no. 183 and on up to the upper Yamunā in no. 185 as *Kulinda* would indicate, and then went back south of the Narmadā in the line beginning with no. 193. If Kulinda extended as far south as Mathurā (see p. 63, n. 4 above), or if there were Kulindas that far south at the time the Geography was written, then one could travel there from modern Malwa without encountering any kingdoms worth mentioning (see map 1).

[4] The tentative identifications offered here and in no. 187 are on the assumption that these places are in the north. I do not believe they were, but I do not know.

187. *Karanda* (D_1 *Karaṁda*, $Ś_1$ *Karaṁḍa*, K_0 *Karaṁṭa*, Bel. *Karaṇṭha*; D_2 K_5*Kaṣṭaka*). Compare with last form the village of *Kasta* in Kheri, Oudh.
188. *Kuraṭa* (so $D_{2.4.5.8}$ Da $B_{1.2.4}$; K_5*Kuraṭha*, B_3*Karaḍḍha*, Dn_1 *Karada*, D_6 *Karaja*, $Ś_1$ *Karaka*, K_1 *Kukara*, Bel. *Kuraka*). *Kuraṭa* on left forefoot and *Kuṇaṭa* in NE.

62 .... Where?

189. *Mūṣaka*. Compare *Mṛṣika* on right forefoot, i.e., in SE?
190. *Sthūla-bāla* "big-child, stupid-child" (so D_1; K_1 *Stuna-bāla*, T_2 *Sthalavāla*, K_5 *Stalabāla*, D_3 *Stālabāla*, etc., Bel. *Stanabāla*)
191. *Sabherya*, *Saterya*? (D_1 *Sabhaya* [diacritic *e* and *r* omitted by oversight?], K_4 *Sabherya*, D_3 *Sāteya*, Da D_5 *Satīrya*, B_1 *Satīrtha*, D_8 B_4 *Satīpa*, D_2 K_5 *Satila*, T $G_{1.3.4}$ *Satīka*, Bel. *Satiya*)[1]
192. *Prati-puñjaya* (D_1 K_4 $B_{2.3}$ *Prati-puṁjaya*, D_2 K_5 *Prati-maṁjaya*, B_2 *-saṁjaya*, M *Sūti-puṁjaka*, $G_{1.3}$ *-puṁjika*, D_3 *Sari-puṁjaya* Da D_5 $B_{1.4}$ *Pūti-saṁjaya* Bel. *Patti-pañjaka*)[2]

.. In the purāṇas, in the W, and S of the Narmadā (nos. 193—6)

193. *Ādideya* (so D_1; Bel. *Ādidāya*, D_2 K_5 *Atidāya*, M *Alpiṣeya*, exc. M_4 *-ṣāya*, $G_{1.3}$ *Alpīṣādha*, Dn *Aliṁdāya*, Da_1 *Aniṁdāya*, Da_2 B_2 *Anidāya*, $D_{4.8}$ B_4 *Alidāya*; Vāyu *Puleya*, Mārk. *Pulinda*, Matsya *Kulīya*)[3]
194. *Śirāla* (so $D_{1.7}$ $K_{2.4}$ B_3; Bel. *Sirāla*, D_2 K_5 *Śiraṁdhra*,[4] Da_2 D_5 B_4 *Śirāṭa*; Matsya, Brahma *Sirāla*). Compare town *Shirol*, near Miraj, Kolhapur, Bombay. But this name may have been longer, perhaps **Śirālvāṭa*: T_1 $G_{2.4}$ *Sirālva* [G_2 *-lla*], T_2 $G_{1.3}$ M *Sirālpa* [$G_{1.3}$ M_4 *Su-*], $D_{3.4.8}$[5] Dn *Śivāṭa*, and in a corrupt passage in B_1 *Pāśavāṭa*).

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[1] The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa places Satiyas S of the Vindhyas. Mistaking *-ya* for *-tha* or *-pa*, and *e* for ī, or *l* for *k* are easily understood orthographically; but which of the dissimilar letters *bh* or *t* was original, or whether *r* was original are undecided questions.

[2] Note that in later manuscripts if *s* is the initial in the first part of the compound, *p* is the initial in the second; and vice versa.

[3] Were the authors trying to express a foreign consonantal cluster? The purāṇas as well as the southern recension suggest a combination of *p* and *l*, the others a dental.

[4] The Bṛhatsaṁhitā places the Sairindhras in the NE. The western recension has here assimilated this word to one more familiar to the copyist. For the Sairandhras see Manu, x. 32.

[5] D_3 is erroneously given as D_2 in the *Critical Edition*.

The two following names were badly mixed in the manuscripts, the collation, or both. They are considered here without much regard to their original position.

195. *Tanaya* "offspring, descendants" (so $D_{4.8}$ Dn K_1 B_1; and by taking *-s* from a preceding word and confusion of final akṣaras, partly because of the following word: Da D_5 $B_{2.4}$ Bel. *Stanapa*, K_4 B_3 *Stanada*; pur. *Stapasa*)

196. *Sunapa* (so $D_{1.3}$ [D_3 *Sū-*]; B_4 *Svanapa* [Mārk. *Svāpada*], $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn $B_{1.2}$ *Sunaya*,[1] D_3 *Sūnada* [*-ya* > *-dha* > *-da*], D_1 *Sudaya* [occured in position 195 above]; $D_{2.7}$ K_5 *Sūcaka* [misreading *na* as *ca*], K_1 *Syuvaka*, K_4 B_3 *Stavaka*, Bel. *Stūbaka*;[2] pur. *Rūpasa* [by corruption of **Sūrapa* < *Sūnapa*], Padmap. *Sūtapa*)

63 . . . .

197. *Ṛṣika* (so $D_{4.5.7.8}$ Da Dn K_4 B; $Ś_1$ *Ṛṣī-*, Bel. *Hṛṣī-*, D_3 *Ruṣaka*; D_1 *Prabhā-* "light, splendor"; D_2 K_3 *Miṣa* "rivalry," K_5 *Mīṣa*)

198. *Vidarbha*

199. *Kāka* "crow" (so $D_{1.4.5.8}$ Da B K_4, exc. B_4*Koka*; D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kuṁtīka*, Bel.*Kāntīka*)

200. *Taṅgaṇa*

201. *para-Taṅgaṇa*

. . In the N, according to Mbh. This direction should precede no. 199 or 200.

202. *Mleccha*

203. *Krūra* (so $D_{1.4.7m.8}$ Dn)

64 . . . . In far NW

204. *Yavana*

205. *Cīna* (so $D_{4.8}$ Dn B_4; D_3 *Śaka*; $Ś_1$ K_{0-2} Bel. *sa-*, D_7 *su-*)

206. *Kāmboja*

207. *dāruṇa Mleccha*

. . N of the Himalayas. Nos. 208 to 214 or 216 in NW in Mārk.

208. *Sakṛd-graha* "immediately comprehending" (so $D_{3-5.8}$ Da_1 Dn_2 $B_{1.4}$ K_{2-4}; D_2 *-gaḍa*, Dn_1 *-gaha*, D_7 *-guha*, $K_{0.1}$ *-druha*, Bel. *Sakṣaddruha*, D_1 *-ttaha*; Padmap. *Sakṛghṛha*, Mārk. *Sakṛtraka*, other pur. **Śaka druhya* or *Śatadru-*). Same as Uttara Madras? See meaning above.

209. *Kulattha* "a kind of pulse" (so $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn B K_4;

[1] Confusion may be due to similarity of akṣaras *-pa* and *-ya*, or to *-ya* in the preceding form (no. 195).

[2] Composite photograph reconstruction, apparently.

Padmap. *Kulaṭya*, Brahmāṇḍap. *Kulantra*, other pur. **Kulinda*, but Vāmanap. *Lalittha*; K_5 *Kutūla*, D_6 *Kumūla*, S *Kuṁdala*, Bel. *Kuntala*). *Kulaṭa* on left forefoot.

210. *Hūṇa* ($Ś_1$ K_{0-2} *Hūna*, D_8 *Kuṇa* [by alliteration with preceding word])

211. *Pārataka* (D_1 *Parataka*, $D_{3.7}$ K_5 *Pāradaka*, D_2 K_3 *Pārāvaka*, T_1 $G_{2.4}$ M *Pārata*, $G_{1.3}$ *Pāraka*;[1] pur. *Pārada* or *Parata*)[2]

65 ....

212. *Ramaṭha* (so K_5 D_3; K_3 *Ramaḍa*, $D_{4.5.8}$ Da Dn B K_4 *Ramaṇa* "charming"; D_6 *Maṭhara*, D_2 *Marava*, Bel. *Maradha*, K_{0-2} *Magadha*; Matsyap. *Rāmaṭha*, Vāyup. *Ramaṭa*, Brahmāṇḍap. *Ravada*, Mārk., Brahmap. *Māṭhara*)

213. *Cīna*

214. *Dāśa-Mālika* (pur. **Daśamālika* or *-maṇika*)

66 .... According to Mbh., on N and E; should read for all following entries, from NW to E, in the Himalayas

215. *Śūdrābhīra* (so $D_{2-4.6.8}$ Dn_1 B K_4; K_5 Da_2 D_5 *Śūrābhīra*, K_3 *Kṣudrābhīra*).[3] The purāṇas substitute *Kāmboja*, much closer to the *Darada* in the following entry.

216. *Darada* (K_5 *Darapa*, D_2 K_3 *Daraya*; pur. *Darada*)

217. *Kāśmīra* (pur. substitute *Barbara*, which is incorrect here)

218. *Patti* "foot soldier" (so $Ś_1$ K_{0-2}; D_2 K_3 *Hyasu*, D_6 *Paṁśu*, M_{2-5} Bel. Padmap. *Paśu* "brute"). Compare *Paṭnī*, another name for Manchāṭī, a West Himalayish (Tibeto-Burmic) language spoken in Paṭan, lower Lahul; or compare town of *Patti*, S of Kashmir and
.. the city of Amritsar in Lahore, Panjāb.[4]

219. *Khaśika* (so Bel.; Da D_5 B_3 *Khaśīka*, T_1 $G_{2.4}$ *Khāṣika*; D_2 *Vepika* [*p* an error for *ṣ*], K_5 *Veṣika*, K_3 *Reṣika* make **Kheṣika* a more likely reconstruction; but D_1 *Samika*, $G_{1.3}$ *Māṣika* indicate **Maṣika*, **Maśika*)

220. *Tuṣāra* (so $D_{1-3.6.7}$ $K_{3.5}$ B_3 S Vāyu, Brahmap.; Bel.

[1] The southern recension drops an akṣara, either *ka* or *ta*.

[2] The purāṇas add *Hāra-mūrtika* or *-bhūṣika*.

[3] The Ābhīras were warlike and unlikely to have been dwarfs; moreover, the *Periplus* seems to say that they were tall and black, so *śūdra* could be appropriate, *kṣudra* would not.

[4] Brahma- and Brahmāṇḍap. *Salokika* (Brahma *-lau-*), Vāyu *Priyala Kaka*; several purāṇa manuscripts add *Cīna*.

Tukhāra; $D_{4.8}$ Dn K_4 $B_{1.4}$ *Aṁta-cāra* "wandering on the frontiers")[1]

221. *Pahlava* (so $D_{4.7.8}$ B K_4; M Bel. *Pallava*)[2]

222. *Giri-gahvara* "mountains impenetrable" (D_1 **-Kaṁdhara*, $B_{1.2.4}$ *-Gaṁdhaka*; Brahmāṇḍap. (Skr.) *Girigahvara*, Vāyu-, Vāmanap. *Bāhyatodara*, Brahmāṇḍap. *Vahyatodhara*).[3] The Hindu Kush?

67 .... In pur., in N

223. *Ātreya* (brāhman line)[4]

224. *sa-Bharadvāja* (brāhman line)[5]

225. *Stana-poṣika* (so $D_{1.4.6}$ Dn_2 K_4 $B_{1.3}$; $B_{2.4}$ *-pauṣika*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *-pālaka*, D_3 *Surayoṣika*, S Bel. *Stanayoṣika*)[6]

.. In Nepal

226. *Aupaka* (so D_7 G_2; D_1 *Opaga*, T M $G_{1.3.4}$ *Aupaga*, $D_{2.3}$ $K_{3.5}$ *Rūpaka*)

227. *Kaliṅga* (so Bel.; but *Kaliṅga* is out of place here;[7] K_1 *Kajiṁga*, [Cf. *Kāpiṅgala* in the middle of the

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[1] Probably accurately describing the position of the Tuṣāras, who were an "outside" people according to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.

[2] The Pallavas were the royal families of Kāñcī, Vengī, and Palakkada (Palghat) during the period from the second century A. D. to 996. The Malayālam copyists have "corrected" the spelling so it would have some meaning for their readers.

[3] The purāṇas have taken the last part of the D_1 form.

[4] H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, p. 27, says of *Ātrāi, Atri*: "a gotra or section of Nepāli Brahmans." Pargiter, *Mārk.*, thought the Ātreyas formerly lived in Sirmur or Garhwal, which I believe is approximately correct, judging by the association in 4. 37, if the D_1 form there is correct. But I doubt if it is. So I think some place in Nepal west of the Gandak seems a more likely location for the Ātreya.

[5] Bharadvāja was priest to the king of Kāśi (Mbh. XIII. 34), so one may surmise that the Bharadvājas of the time of the Geography were approximately north of there in Nepal.

[6] The purāṇas here insert *Puṣkala* (Mārk., Brahma) or *Prasthala* (Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa), and *Daśeraka*.

The remains of the *Stana-poṣika* of the epic are probably found in a line of the purāṇas on the countries of the N:

Vāyu	*Lampāka*	*Stanapa*	*Pīḍika*	*Juhuḍa*
Matsya	*Lampaka*	*Stalagāna*	*Sainika*	*Jāṅgala*
Brahma	*Lampaka*	*Śunaśoko*	*Kulika*	*Jāṅgala*
Mārk.	*Lampāka*	*Śūlakāra*	*Culika*	*Jāguḍa*

The purāṇa forms which best correspond to the epic form are Vāyu *Stanapa* and Brahmāṇḍa (Skr.) *Bhūṣika*.

[7] As Wilson, II, p. 187, n. 11, has already remarked. The purāṇas had *Ālisandra* (Brahmāṇḍa), *Alacandra* (Brahma), *Alimadra* (Vāyu), and *Ānimadra* (Mārk.), where the only possible resemblance to the epic form is in the **Āli-* (epic *Kali-*?).

tortoise, i.e., in N, but Bṛ. *Daṇḍa-piṅgalaka*], D_1 *Pavaṁga*)

228. of the *Kirāta*

68 ....

229. *Tāmara* (K_5 B D [exc. $D_{2.3}$] *Tomara*, K_4 *Tomava*, M *Nāmara*)[1]

230. *Haṁsa-mārga* "goose-hunter" or "goose-path" (Pur. same)

231. *Kara-kāmboja-ka*? (D_1 *Katu-saṁjaka*, $D_{2.6}$ $K_{3.5}$ *Kara-bhojaka*, M *Karakaṁjaka*, $G_{1.3}$ *Kara-kaṁdaka*, T_1 $G_{2.4}$ *Kara-taṁjaka*, Bel. *Kara-bhañjaka*; pur. *Kāśmīra Taṅgaṇa* (but Brahma *Karuṇa*, Mārk. *Tuṅgaṇa*)[2]

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[1] *Tāmara* is the form occurring in older manuscripts in other lists below. In the list of coutries by location, Vāyu and Brahma have *Tomara*, Mārk. *Tāmasa* (a Manu). But in the list of mountainous countries, Brahma *Tomara*, Brahmāṇḍa *Tāmara*, Matsya *Cāmara*, Mark., Vāyu *Tāmasa*.

[2] I would tenatively place the Karakāmbhojakas (?) approximately in the vicinity of the Dhaulagiri in west central Nepal.

The Digvijayas (List 2)

In the Geography the primary consideration was to locate where the countries or tribes were located. But in the digvijayas, the ethnic designation of the peoples is given, when known, in order to show the nature of the conflicts—that they were primarily against those who were not Indo-Aryans.

The Karṇadigvijaya[1]

Dated manuscripts: B_2 1261; B_1 1471; D_4 1599; D_3 1620; D_5 1656; D_2 1739; B_3 1756; Dc_2 1765?; K_2 1772; Dn_1 1783; B_4 1817; Dc_1 1879—80.

In the foothills and the Himalayas

29 1. king Drupada (of *Pañcāla*)
36 2. king Bhagadatta (of the *Mlecchas*) (Tibeto-Burmic)
37 3. all the kings of the Himavat

In the E

42 4. *Aṅga* (E *Ānava*)
5. *Vaṅga* (E Ānava)
6. *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava)
7. *Śuṇḍika* (Suk. *Śuṇḍaka*, $D_{2.3}$ *Caṁḍika*, D_5 *Puṁḍraka*, Dn_1 *Maṁḍika*, $Dn_{2.n3}$ D_1 G_3 *Muṁḍika*) (in Puṇḍra or Utkala, hence base of population Mundic)

In the middle E, and N of Ganges

8. *Mithila* (the people of Mithilā, capital of *Videha*; Mānava) (Suk. *Mathila*)
43 9. *Māgadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic)
10. *Karkakhaṇḍa*, and included with them:
44 11. *Āvaśīra* (D_{1-3} K_4 *Śrāvastī*)
12. *Yodhya* (for *Ayodhyā*?)
13. *Ahikṣatra* ($D_{1-3.5}$ Dc K_4 *Ahicchatra*)

If the "identifications" within parentheses are correct, then the Karkakhaṇḍa would seem to have occupied the territory along the upper Gomatī River, and the name may be a synonym (a native name?) for the Kośalas.

According to the Mbh., having conquered the E, Karṇa then conquered:

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[1] *Cr. Ed.* III. 241, but in Appendix I, no. 24, line 28ff.; Roy's translation, III. 253. The numbers farthest to the left in the left margin are the line numbers in part of the appendix. The directions in this digvijaya are mine.

45 14. *Vatsa-bhumi* "country of children" or "Vatsa country"
46 15. *Kevala* (K_4 *Mekhala*, D_{1-3} Dc *Mekala*). This is a wild tribe, perhaps in or near *Mekala*.
16. *Mṛttikāvatī* (Haihaya, because of ending *-ti*)
47 17. *Modana* (so D_{1-3} Dc; D_5 *Nodana*, K_4 *Sodana*, Suk. *Mohana*)
18. *Pattana*
19. *Tripurī* or *-ā* (originally *Ti-purī*; Haihaya)
20. *Kośala* (i.e., S Kośala) (Suk. *Kosala*) (Mānava)

Vatsa-bhumi seems not to have been the same as Vatsa, but a not very well known or defined region roughly between the Gomati and the Son. Nos. 19 and 20 are roughly south of the E Mānava country, and in the Vindhya range or south of it. I think nos. 15—18 were south of the E Mānava countries, and within the Vindhyas.

According to the Mbh., Karṇa then marched south. To go from no. 20 to no. 21 he would go more west than south; this direction (marching S) should have followed no. 21.

50 21. king Rukmi (of *Vidarbha*; Yādava)
.... Coming north from the S
22. *Pāṇḍya* (S Tamil)
56 23. *Kerala* (Malayālam)
24. king Nīla (of *Māhiṣmati*; Haihaya)
57 25. Veṇudāri's son (unknown) and others in S, and (59) Śiśupāla's son, i.e., Dhṛṣṭaketu, king of Cedi (here the S part of Cedi on Vindhyas).

....

61 26. *Āvanti* (Haihaya)
62 27. *Vṛṣṇi* (Yādava; of *Ānarta*)

....

According to the Mbh., Karṇa came to the quarter of Varuṇa (i.e., the west), where he made pay tribute:

63 28. *Yavana-* (Taurvasava)
29. *Barbara* (the Barbaras of the main part of the Mbh. were a long way from the Yavanas, to which he returns at the end of the list. This was probably a late use of the word *Barbara* and does not refer to the Barbara next the Kirātas)

....

66 30. *Mleccha* (Tibeto-Burmic)
31. *Parvatanivāsin* "living in the mountains" = *Pārvatīya*.
67 32. *Bhadra-* ($D_{2.6}$ Dc Dn_3 G_3 *Madra*)

33. *Rohitaka*
34. *Āgreya*- (W Ānava)
35. *Mālava*
69 36. *Śaśaka* (Dc *sa-Śaka*; Iranian)
37. *Yavana* (Taurvasava)

Karṇa, one will note, was holding back or subduing the peoples on the outer fringe of Madhyadeśa, first to the east, then south, then west, and north.[1]

The Pāṇḍava Digvijayas

Pāṇḍu's[2]

38. the robber tribes of *Daśārṇa* (here Gonds?)

. . . .

39. *Māgadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic)

. . . .

40. *Mithilā* (capital of the *Videhas*; E Mānava)

. . . .

41. *Kāśi* (Āyava)
42. *Suhma* ($K_{0.2}$ *Pauṁḍra*, D_4 *Puṁḍra*) (E Ānava)
43. *Puṇḍra* (E Anava)

[1] I was at first inclined to regard the following list of Karṇa's conquests in the Karṇaparvan (*Cr. Ed.* VIII. 5. 18ff.; Roy VIII. 8. 236ff.) as late and spurious: 1 *Gāndhāra* (Drauhyava); 2 *Madraka* (W Ānava); 3 *Matsya* (W Ānava?); 4 *Trigarta*; 5 *Taṅgaṇa*; 6 *Śaka* (Iranian) (B_4 *Khaśa*); 7 *Pāñcāla* (Aryan); 8 *Videha* (E Mānava); 9 *Kulinda* (Vaidya *Kuṇinda*) (West Himalayish); 10 *Kāśi-Kośala* (Vaidya *-Kosala*) (Āyava and E Mānava); 11 *Suhma* (E Ānava); 12 *Aṅga* (E Ānava); 13 *Puṇḍra* (E Ānava); 14 *Niṣāda* (Bhilla) (M *Niṣadha*); 15 *Vaṅga* (E Ānava); 16 *Kicaka*; 17 *Vatsa* (V_1 *Vatsya*, $B_{1.4.5}$ *Matsya*); 18 *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava); 19 *Tarala* (in S. Kaliṅga? See 2. 181); 20 *Aśmaka* (E Mānava?); 21 *Ṛṣika*.

This list is undoubtedly less specific than the one above and, I believe, later. At first glance the two lists do not seem to have anything in common except *Aṅga*, *Vaṅga*, and *Kaliṅga*, which Karṇa would be expected to have subjected as king of Aṅga. But they do also agree on *Pañcāla*. And the *Śuṇḍika* of the Āraṇyakaparvan is probably more specific than the *Puṇḍra* of the second, *Mithila* than *Videha*, *Karkakhaṇḍa* than *Kośala*. The Āraṇyakaparvan list looks older. But the Karṇaparvan list may have been taken from a different source and be more specific in one respect. The Āraṇyakaparvan list only mentions all the kings of the Himavat, while the Karṇaparvan list refers to *Gāndhāra*, the *Madraka*, *Matsya* (i.e., the early Matsya in the Himalayas before they fled S), *Trigarta*, *Taṅgaṇa*, *Śaka* (here probably in Nepal), and *Kulinda*.

The Karṇaparvan list runs generally from NW India to the E and then down the Ganges to Kaliṅga and then W; but some names such as *Kulinda*, *Niṣāda*, and *Kicaka* are far out of place, all of these belonging much farther up the list, i.e., these people lived farther to the west than their position in the list would indicate.

[2] *Cr. Ed.* I. 105; Roy I. 113.

Arjuna's[1]

Dated manuscripts: V_1 1452; N_1 1500; D_6 1570; B_6 1740; B_1 1758; D_2 1763; B_3 1768; B_4 1769; K_3 1822; D_3 1825; B_2 1848; $G_{5.6}$ "very old"; M_1 probably less than 100 years old; K_4 modern.

First subjugated:

II.23.13,14 44. *Kulinda* (V_1 N_1 D B $Ś_1$*Kuliṁda* [$B_{1.5}$*Pu-*], $K_{1.2}$*Kuṇiṁda*, Edg. *Kuṇinda*) (West Himalayish)

. . . . .

14 45. *Ānarta* (early Mānava, later Yādava)

46. *Kālakūṭa* (inhabitants of Kālakūṭa mountain)

. . . .

47. king Sumaṇḍala (place not known)

15,16 48. *Sakala* dvīpa ($D_{1.3.4}$ K_3 G_4 *Śākala*) and Prati-Vindhya

17 49. kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, (19) king Bhagadatta supported by *Kirātas* and *Cīnas* and dwellers on coast (Sāgarānūpavāsimiḥ). *Jyotiṣika* in C of tortoise, *Upa-jyotiṣa* (Parāśara *Uttama-jyotiṣa*) in C.

. . . .

Then marched N

II.24.4 50. king Bṛhanta (of *Ulūka* "owl" [totemic?], V_1 B D [exc. D_6] *Ulūka*, $K_{1.4}$ *Ulūta-*, Edg., D_2 marg. *secunda manu Kulūta*). See 56 below.

9 51. king Senāvindu (12) of *Devaḥprastha* (city), from which Arjuna conquered

. . . . N of Himalayas

10 52. *Modāpura* (city)

53. Vāmadeva (prince, place unknown; see Kirfel 114, 116)

54. Sudāman (king) (so $Ś_1$; D_6 $K_{1.2.4}$ T_1 $G_{1.3.4}$ M *Sunāman*)

55. Susaṅkula (king, place unknown)

56. *N. Ulūka* (V_1 B Dn D_{1-4} *Ulūka*, K_4 $Ś_1$ *Ulūta*, K_1*Kūlūta*, Edg. *Kulūtan-uttaraṁ-*, D_5 *Kulūka*; Mārk. has *Alūka* on left hind foot of tortoise, i.e., in far northwest.

. . . .

13 57. Viṣvagaśva (Paurava; kingdom unknown)

. . . .

15 58. tribes of Dasyus inhabiting the mountains, the 7 called *Utsavasaṅketa* "passionate, joyful-appointment" (Bhil)

. . . . In NW

16 59. *Kāśmīra* (Dardic)

. . . .

---

[1] This and the three following digvijayas in *Cr. Ed.* II. 23–29; Roy II. 26–32. All dates are *circa*.

60. *Lohita* "red, reddish" (country or king?)

. . . .

17 61. *Trigarta*

62. *Dārva-* Mountainous, according to pur. (Dardic)

63. *Kotanaka* (so N_1 D_{3-5} B_5; B_6*Kaumtanaka*, $D_{1.2}$*Kautalaka*, K_1*Komkanada*, Ś$_1$ K_4 Edg.*Koka-nada* "wolf-, cuckoo-, ruddy goose-, frog-river") *Kokankana* on tail.

. . . .

18 63. *Abhisārī* (town) (Indo-Aryan?)

64. king Rocamāna in *Uraga* (Edg. D_{6m} *Uragāvāsinam caiva Rocamānam*, Ś$_1$ *Tarasāvāsinam*, D_6 *Ulūta-*, K_1*Kulūtā-*)

. . . .

19 65. *Simhapura* (town). *Nṛ-simha* "men-lions" on left hind foot and the Veṇumatī, and in NW (i.e., far NW).

. . . .

20 66. *Suhma* (so D_{6m} Edg.; D_6 *Svakṣām*, Dn_1 *Sukṣām*, K_4 *Suhmānsu-*, B_3 *Summāmś-ca*, S *Vamgam*, *Vamkam*). *Suhma*, *Svakṣa* out of place here in the NW, but not enough forms from old manuscripts are cited to attempt a restoration. Cf. *Aśvamukha* on left side, and *Svamukha* in N.

67. Cola (so Edg.; B_2 *Cora*; K_3 *Vaira*, K_1 *Śaila*; Sör. has *Sumāla* for C.). Cola is also out of place here.

. . . .

21 68. *Bāhlīka* (Mānava, later Ānava)

. . . .

22 69. *Darada* (Dardic)

70. *Kāmboja* (Iranian)

. . . .

70a. *Dasyu* of NE frontier and the woods (i.e. Utsavasaṅketas)

23 71. *Loha-* "reddish, copper colored" (V_1 *Lambaka*)

24 72. *parama-Kāmboja-* "remotest Kāmboja" (Iranian)

73. *N Ṛṣika*

. . . . N of W Nepal

27 At last, having conquered all the Himalayas and the Niṣkuṭa Mountains, he crossed the White (*Śveta*) Mountains and subjugated

II.25.1 74. the *Kimpuruṣas* "what sort of man, savage"

. . . .

3 75. country of *Hāṭaka* ruled by *Guhyakas*

. . . .

5 76. Regions ruled by *Gandharvas* around *Hāṭaka* territory (near lake Mānasa(sarovara)).

7 77. *N Hari-varṣa* (N of Hemakūṭa mountain = Kailāsa) where *N Kurus* live.

Bhimasena's

Going first to

II.26.3 78. *Pāñcāla* (N_1 V_1 D_{4-6} B Dn $K_{1.2.4}$ $G_{1.6}$ M *Paṁcāla*) (Indo-Aryan)

.... Going E

4 79. *Gaṇḍaka* (N_1 D_6 B_4 Dn *Gaṁḍaka*; Cd. cites *Gaṁḍakī*, Edg. *Gaṇḍakī*). If a people and not a river, then those living along the Gaṇḍakī (present Gaṇḍak), rather than about the Sapta Gaṇḍakī or Dhavalāgiri range of the Himalayas where the river rises.

80. *Videha* (E Mānava)

.... To S.

81. *Daśārṇa* (Yādava)

....

Marched E (actually W, or more likely NW)

8 81a. *Aśvamedheśvara*, king Rocamāna

10 82. *Pulinda* in the S ($B_{1.2}$ *Puliṁda*; V_1 $B_{3.6}$ *Kuliṁda*, S *Kuṇiṁda*).

Sukumāra and king Sumitra; see 129, 130.

....

12 83. *Cedi* (early Yādava, late Vāsava)

....

II.27.1 84. (king Śrenimat) *Kumāra* "children" (so $Ś_1$; V_1 $B_{3.6}$ *Kuliṁda*, S *Kuṇiṁda*, $B_{1.2}$ *Puliṁda*)[1]

85. king of *Kośala* (so $D_{1-4.6}$ Dn_1 $B_{4.6}$ K; $B_{1.3}$ *Koṣala*, $Ś_1$ Edg. *Kosala*) (E Mānava) (2) country with capital at Ayodhyā

3 86. country of *Gopāla-kakṣa* "forest recess of cowherds" (so V_1 B_4 $K_{3.4}$; Edg. *-kaccha*, $Ś_1$ *-vaśca*)

87. *N Kośala* (E Mānava)

88. *Malla*

....

4 89. Arriving at moist region at foot of Himavat

....

5 90. country of *Bhallāṭa* (mountain) (so B^2 Dn $D_{4.5}$;[3] D_3 *Mallaṭa*, B_1 *Ullāṭa*, Edg. *Unnaṭa*, V_1 *Tannaṭa*).

Śuktimat (mountain) (Edg. *Kukṣi-*)

....

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[1] *Kumāra* and *Sukumāra* (see 82 above) are constantly associated in Śaka-dvīpa.

[2] B_1 marg. [3] D_5 marg. sec. m.

6 91. king of *Kāśi* (Āyava)

. . . .

7 92. king Kratha in the region about *Supārṣva* (cf. 1.136)

. . . .

8 93. *Matsya* "fish." The E Matsya; if totemic, no necessary connection with well-known Matsyas in W. But $D_{1.2}$ *Malla.*

94. *Malada* (so V_1 $D_{1.2.6}$ Dn B_{2-4}; T_1 *Mallaja*, Edg. *Malaya*) (Malto)

95. country called *Paśu-bhūmi* "cattle country" ($D_{5.6}$ K_3 *Vasu-*, D_{6m} *Vatsa-*)

. . . .

9 96. *Soma-deśa* (so V_1; Edg. *Sopa-deśa*, N_1 $Ś_1$ K_1 *Soma-dheya*, K_4 *Soma-veya*, K_2 *Sobha-veya*, K_3 *-kīya*)

. . . .

Turned left(?) upstream(?) (*uttara*)

96a. *Madadhāra* (so N_1 V_1 B Dn $D_{1.5.6m}$; K_3 D_6 *Madadhīka*, Ś *Madavīrya*, Edg. *Madavīraka*)

97. country of *Vatsa-bhūmi* "country of children"

10 98. *Garga* (so D_6 $K_{1.2.4}$ B_5 T_1 G_2; $Ś_1$ B_2 Edg. *Bharga*)

99. *Niṣāda* ($Ś_1$ *Niṣadha*)[1] (Bhil)

100. king Maṇimat (kingdom unknown)

. . . .

11 101. *S Malla*

102. Bhogavat mountains (*parvata*, so V_1 and later; Edg. Pāṇḍava)

. . . .

12 103. *Śarmaka* (*śarma(n)* "shelter, protection; house," often at end of names of brāhmans) (V_1 *Śaka*)

104. *Varmaka* (*varma(n)* "shelter, protection; coat of mail," often at end of names of kṣatriyas)

. . . .

105. *Vaideha* (E Mānava)

106. *Śaka* (Iranian) } Inserted by N_1 Dn

107. *Barbara* in that part (Kusūnda) } after śl. 12.

. . . .

13 108. seven kings of the *Kirāta* (E Himalayish) were conquered from Videha

. . . . In Bengal

14 109. *Suhma* (E Ānava)

110. *Prācya-suhma* "E Suhma" (so D_{6m} Edg.; N_1 $D_{3.4}$ Dn B *Pra-suhma*) (E Ānava. But perhaps the distinction

[1] *Niṣadha* is obviously wrong in this vicinity.

between 109 and 110 was one of race and language, between the Tibeto-Burmic Suhmas and the Mundic Suhmas. If Edgerton's form is correct, it would most likely be the Tibeto-Burmic part of Suhma)

. . . .

15 Daṇḍa and Daṇḍadhāra (kings), on way to

. . . .

14 111. *Māgadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic, late Vāsava)

. . . .

16 112. *Aṅga* (E Ānava) (in text only Karṇa)

. . . .

113. kings of mountainous regions

. . . .

19 114. king in *Modā-giri* (Monghyr, Bengal, according to NLD, without explanation or citation. Seems approximately correct geographically)

. . . .

20 115. king of *Puṇḍra* (Edg. Pauṇḍra) (E Ānava)
116. king in *Kauśikī-kaccha* "banks of the Kauśikī"

. . . .

21 117. *Vaṅga* (E Ānava)

. . . .

22 118. king Samudrasena (and son)
119. king Candrasena
120. *Tāmralipta* "smeared with coppery red" (Tibetans). I take them to be a commercial and boating people, at this time.
121. *Karvaṭa.Karvaṭāśana* hill on face of tortoise, and (Brhat.) *Karvaṭa* (peo.) in E, following Suhma). The Karvaṭa would be between Tāmraliptaka and Vaṅga on E and Suhma on W, or perhaps within Suhma. (Edg. *Vaṅga*) (E Ānava?)
23 122. *Suhma* (E Ānava)
123. kings on seashore (Sāgaravāsinaḥ)
124. all the *Mleccha* tribes (Tibeto-Burmic)

. . . .

24 125. *Lauhitya* (Tibeto-Burmic and Khasic)

Sahadeva's

At the outset

II.28.2 126. *Śūrasena* (Yādava)
127. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)

. . . .

3 128. king of the *Adhi-rāja* "overlord, king"

. . . .

4 129. Sukumāra (king of Pulinda, probably better *Kulinda*). See 82.

130. king Sumitra (see 82). (A Vṛṣṇi, according to Pusalker, 284).

131. *para-Matsya*

132. *Paṭaccara* (Yādava)

. . . .

5 133. *Niṣāda* (Bhilla)

134. hill called Gośṛṅga

135. king Śreṇimat (of *Kumāra*)

. . . .

6 136. country called *Nava-rāṣṭra* "new kingdom" (but N_1 V_1 B_{3-5} Dn $D_{1.4}$[1] G_6 *Nara-rāṣṭra* "kingdom of men," $B_{2.6}$ *Nara-rājya*, S *Nava-rāṣṭra*). (W Ānava)

137. *Kunti-bhoja* (Haihaya)

. . . .

7 To banks of Carmaṇvatī

138. king Jambhaka (kingdom unknown)

. . . .

8 Marched toward S

139. *Seka* (if Malwa, then Bhil)
140. *para-Seka*
(insert after śl. 8 in V_1 B_{1-5} D_5)

9 141. countries on banks of Narmadā where he defeated kings of (10) *Avanti* (Haihaya)

. . . . S. of Vindhyas

App. 1, no. 13, line 1 — 142. Bhojakaṭa (second capital of *Vidarbha*, near Narmadā, according to Harivaṁśa, ch. 117) (Yādava)

. . . .

4 143. *Kośala* king and the ruler on the banks of the Veṇvā (V_1 Veṇḍātaṭa, S (generally) Veṇṇā-, Edg. Veṇā-, B_3 Veṇvā-kaṭa). The river Wain-Gaṅgā, tributary of the Godavari which rises in the Vindhyāpāda range. (E Mānava)

5 144. *Kāntāraka* (people) "surgarcane, sp.," *kāntāra* "forest, wilderness." Sugarcane is now grown in region where placed on my map.

145. *E Kośala* (E Mānava) ($B_{4.5}$ *Prāk-Kośala*; but B_1 Edg. *Prā-Koṭaka*, B_2 T_1 $G_{2.5}$ M_1 *Prāk-Koṭaka*). *Kaṭaka-sthala* on right forefoot, (cf. modern *Cuttack*), and (Br.) *Kaṇṭaka-sthala* (district; cf. next entry above) in SE.

. . . .

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[1] D_1 by correction.

6 146. *Nāṭakeya* (S generally *Bālakeya*)
147. *Herambaka* (*heramba* "buffalo")
7 148. country of *Mārudha* (V_1 B_{2-6} *Māruka*, $D_{1.2.6}$ *Māruta*)
149. *Muñja-grāma* (B_{6m} Edg. *Ramya-*, $D_{1.2}$ $B_{2.6}$ *Dharma-*)
. . . .
8 150. *Nācīna-*
151. *Arbuka* (D_6 *Arbhuka*) (pur. have *Arbuda* in W, and N of the Narmadā: *Kacchika* (i.e., Cutch), *Surāṣtra*, *Avanti*, *Arbuda*, *Vītihotra*). It is evidently at the W end of the Vindhyas.
9 152. various forest kings of that part
. . . .
10 153. king Vātādhipa (kingdom unknown) (V_1 *Tāra-dhipa*, B_2 *Vāṭā-*)
. . . .
11 154. *Pulinda* (Goṇḍī)
. . . .
Then marched S.
12 155. king of *Pāṇḍya* (S Tamil) (T_1 G_{3-5} M_2 *Pattani*)
13 Marched further S.[1]
14 156. celebrated caves of *Kiṣkindha* (15) where he fought monkey kings Mainda and Dvivida (Kolami; pre-Dravida)
. . . . Along Narmadā
II.28.11 157. city of *Māhiṣmatī* (king Nīla) (Haihaya)
. . . .
38 158. king of *Traipura* (on Vindhya range, according to pur.) (Haihaya)
. . . .
39 159. king of *Surāṣtra* and preceptor of *Kauśikas* (Yādavas)
. . . .
40 160. king of Bīṣmaka within territories of Bhojakaṭa (i.e., *Vidarbha*; Yādava)
. . . . Along W coast
43 161. *Śūrpāraka* (in the W, and S of the Narmadā, according to pur.)
43 162. *Tālākaṭa* (so V_1 B_4 Dn_1; $B_{3.5}$ Dn_2 $D_{3.5}$ *Tālī-*, D_4 *Śālī-*; D_6 $Ś_1$ *Copākṛta*, Edg. *Copakṛta*, K_1 *Vopa-*, $K_{2.3}$ G_6 *Capa-*, N_1 *Copā-vṛta*; Mārk. *Cānīkaṭa*, Vāyup. *Kālītaka*; Bṛhatsaṁhitā *Tālikaṭa*, a peo. in S. In the W, and S

[1] If Pāṇḍya in no. 155 is correct, then the direction here should read north, not south. But Pāṇḍya is undoubtedly incorrect. There are "jumps" in the geographical lists of the epic, but I do not believe the conquerors hopped over the map like fleas.

of Narmadā, according to Brahmap. In the general region about The Dangs?

163. *Daṇḍaka.* The king was a Bhoja, and the capital Madhumanta or Govardhana, according to Ray., p. 37. But Brahmāṇḍap., ch. 68, mentions both *Daṇḍakas* and *Govardhanas* in the same list, the latter between *Aśmakas* (*Atmaka*) and *Ṛṣikas* (*Neṣṭika*), so Govardhana is unlikely to have been the capital. (Yādava ruler?, pre-Dravida population)

.... In Vindhyas

44 164. *Mleccha* tribe on seacoast islands (*Sāgara-dvīpa-vāsa*)

165. *Niṣāda* (Bhil)

166. cannibals

167. *Karṇa-prāvaraṇa* (same form in E in Rāmāyana, there followed by *Oṣṭhakarṇaka*) (Bhilla)

45 168. *Kāla-mukha* "black-faced" (cross between human beings and Rākṣakas; Bhilla or pre-Dravida). The *Ghora-loha-mukha* of Rāmāyana?

169. *Kola-giri* (N_1 D_1 M_2 *Loka-giri*, V_1 $B_{2.6}$ *Kāla-*, B_1 *Kola-*, G_4 Edg. *Kolla-*, K_4 *Kaulla-*, G_5 *Golla-*). *Kola-gira* on right side, and *Kolla-giri* in S. The Koḍagu dialect of Kanarese spoken in Coorg? I think not so far S, but rather in Vindhyas.

170. Surucī-paṭṭana (so V_1 N_1; D_6 K_3 *Surucī-pattana*, $Ś_1$ *Suradhī-*, K_4 D_2 *Murucī-*, K_1 *Marūcī-*, Edg. *Muracī-*). *Marucī-paṭṭana* a city in S in Bṛhat. *Pattana* just before *Tripuri*, *-a* in 2.18.

171. Copper island

172. *Rāmaka* mountain (V_1 B_6 *Grāmaka*, K_4 $D_{1.2}$ G_3 *Remaka*)

....

173. king (of?) *Timiṅgila*. *Timiṅgilāśanas* "whale-eaters" in S in Bṛhat., where it follows *Daṇḍaka-vana.*

47 173a. Ekapāda "one-footed"

174. wild tribe known as *Kevala* (so V_1 N_1 B D_{1-5} K_{2-4}; D_6 K_1 Dn *Kerala*)

.... Region about city of Bombay

175. *Sañjayantī* (town). Old village of *Sañjān* or *Sañjaya* in Thana, Bombay.

175. *Picchaṇḍa* (N_1 B_2 *Picuṁḍa*, K_3 *Pichuṁḍa*, V_1 B_4 Dn *Paṣaṁḍa*[1] , $Ś_1$ *Pityaṁḍa*, K_1 *Picchajī*)

176. *Karahāṭaka* "the tree Vangueria Spinosa, Suśr." The modern city of *Karāḍa*, Satara, Bombay, of which the

[1] This form is incorrect, for Pāṣaṇḍa is in the middle of the tortoise, i.e., in the N.

ancient name was *Karahākaḍa* or *-kaṭa*, according to inscriptions.

.... Up the E Coast

48 177. *Pāṇḍya* (S Tamil)

178. *Draviḍa* (N Tamil)

179. *Uḍra-Kerala*. Corrupted from *Uttara-Kerala*? (D_{3-5} *Udra-mallika*, $D_{1.2}$ *Uṣṭra-mallika*) (Telugu)

180. *Andhra* (V_1 N_1 D_6 *Aṁdhra*) (Telugu)

181. *Tāla-vana* (so N_1 D_6 Dn M_2; Edg. *Talavana*; V_1 *Tarala*) (Telugu)

182. *Kaliṅga* (Telugu)[1]

183. *Uṣṭra-karṇika* "camel-eared." The *Oṣṭha-karṇaka* in E of the Rāmāyana? (Telugu). *Ūrdhva-karṇa* "erect ears" on right fore (SE) foot.

49 184. *Aṭavī* "forest" (so V_1 N_1 $B_{1-3.6}$ D_{2-5} $K_{2.4}$; K_1 $B_{4.5}$ *Āṭavī*, D_6 *Āravī* with *-ṭavī* in margin, $Ś_1$ *Avarī*, Edg. *Antākhī*). Cf. 5.4, which follows *Kaliṅga*.

185. ***Romā*** (N_1 V_1 K_3 ***Romāṁ-ś-ca***, Edg. ***Romāṁ ca***, B D generally ***Rāmaṁ***, D_6 Dn *purīṁ ramyāṁ*)

186. and city of the *Yavana* (Taurvasava)[2]

....

Reached the seashore and despatched messengers to

50 187. Vibhīṣaṇa (king, ruled *Laṅkā* or Ceylon; a Rākṣasa)

Nakula's

To W.

II.29.2 Set out from *Khāṇḍava-prastha* (S of Kurukṣetra)

4 188. *Rohītaka*, prosperous and full of kine and every kind of

---

[1] Based on the assumption that this is lower Kaliṅga, the only Kaliṅga known in later times, and which gave its name to the town of Kalingapatam, to Kalingia Ghat in Ganjam, Madras, and to Kāliṅgī, a name sometimes used for Telugu.

This passage in the Mahābhārata places Kaliṅga between Andhra and Aṭavī, and the purāṇa text places *Aṭavī* just before *Śabara*, so Aṭavī was probably just below Śabara (see map) and the city of the Yavanas was at the mouth of the Mahānada.

If Kaliṅga here referred to the old Kaliṅga of the greater part of the epic, between the mouths of the Mahānada and the Ganges, then nos. 183—186 would have to be within this old "upper" Kaliṅga. But I believe this upper Kaliṅga was too well known to the Aryans for places like Aṭavī and the city of the Yavanas not to have been mentioned elsewhere in the epic, if they were situated there.

[2] It was from the city of the Yavanas that Sahadeva's messengers appear to have embarked for Ceylon. Although Fa-hsien sailed from Tāmralipti for Siṁhala (Periplus, p. 255), reasons were given in the preceding note for believing that Sahadeva sailed from the mouth of the Mahānada. The Greek author of the *Periplus* knew Dosarene (Daśārṇa) or Orissa and further on the Ganges with a port at its mouth; and E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 117, also mentions trade with the ports in Orissa and the Ganges. But I have not found a reference to a Greek colony at either place.

5 wealth and produce, where *Mattamayūraka* "sexually excited peacocks" lived. Modern *Rohtak*, 42 miles NW of Delhi.

. . . .

189. desert country. N part of Indian desert.

6 190. region full of plenty known as *Śairīṣaka* ($B_{1-3.6}$ D_2 *Śirīṣaka*, G_6 *Śairīṣaki*, K *Śarīṣaka*). Modern city *Sirsa* near Ghaggar R.

191. region full of plenty known as *Mahettha* (so V_1 N_1 Dn_1 $D_{1.3}$; B_1 *Mahaccha* [*ccha* < *tha*], $Ś_1$ K[1] *Mahīpa* [*pa* < *tha*], Edg. *Maheccha*). (W Ānava)

192. *Śibi* (W Ānava)

193. *Trigarta*

194. *Ambaṣṭha* (W Ānava)

195. *Mālava*

196. *Pañca-Karpaṭa* tribes (D_6 $Ś_1$ G_1 M_1 *Paṁca-Karpaṭī*, K_1 *-Karbaṭa*, B $D_{2.4.5}$ *-Karvaṭa*, V_1 D_3 K_2 *-Karkaṭa*)

7 197. *Madhya-makeya* (so V_1 D_6 B_4 Dn; N_1 K_3 G_3 M_1 Edg. *-mikāya*, K_1 *-makāya* [< *madhyamaka* "middlemost"], $Ś_1$ *-mikeya*) (W Anava)

198. *Vāṭa-dhāna* ($Ś_1$ *Vārkṣa-dhāna* "wooden seat") (Yādava?)

8 199. *Utsava-saṅketa* (Bhil)

200. *Grāmaṇeya* dwelling on Indus (W Ānava)

9 201. *Śūdra-* on Sarasvatī (Bhil)

202. *Ābhīra* on Sarasvatī (W Ānava mixed with Bhils)

10 203. *Pañcanada* (Iranian)

204. mountain called *Amara-parvata* (so N_1 $D_{5.6}$ B_4 Dn K_1; V_1 $D_{1-4.6m}$ $B_{2.3.5.6}$ *Amaraṁkaṭakaṁ*, Edg. *(A)para-paryaṭa*)

205. country (city?) called *Uttara-jyotiṣa* (so V_1 N_1 $D_{5.6}$ Dn K_1; Edg. *-jyotika*)

206. *Divyakaṭa* (city) (so $B_{4.5}$ $D_{3.4}$ Dn; V_1 *Biṁdukaṭa*, D_6 $Ś_1$ *Viṁdāṭaka*, N_1 D_2 K_{2-4} *Vṛṁdāraka*, D_1 *Vṛkṣaraka*, D_5 *Vedakaṭa*, Edg. *Vṛndāṭaka*)

207. tribe called *Dvārapāla* "door-keeper" (said of various Yakṣas)

. . . . "Outside" in N and W

11 208. *Rāmaṭha* (so N_1 $D_{4.6}$ Dn; K_3 Edg. *Ra-*, $Ś_1$ *Ramadha*, V_1 $D_{1.2}$ B *Māṭhara*)

209. *Hāra-hūṇa* (Turk?)

13 210. *Madra* (W Ānava) (i.e., *Uttara Madra*)

15 211. *Mleccha* on seacoast (Sāgara) and wild tribes

212. *Pahlava* (Iranian) (V_1D_6 Dn$K_{3.4}$add *Kirāta*, *Yavana*, *Śaka*)

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[1] K_2 omits.

Dyuta, Tribute to Pāṇḍavas (List 3)[1]

Dated manuscripts: same as for Pāṇḍava digvijayas above.

II.47.10 1. *Vairāma* (T_1 $G_{1.3.5}$ M *Vaiduma*, G_4 *Vidruma*, G_2 T_0 *Druma*).

2. *Pārada* (N_1 *Dārada*)

3. *Vaṅga* (D_{1-5} $B_{1.4.5}$ *Tuṁga*, B_2 *Turaṁga*; D_6 Dn(!) K_4 *Ābhīra*, S generally *Śaka*). *Vaṅga* and *Ābhīra* are both incorrect here. This is some place in Himalayas.

4. *Kitava* (V_1 N_1 *Kṛtava*) (W Ānava?)

. . . .

12 5. Bhagadatta, ruler of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, and the mighty sovereign of the *Mlecchas*, at the head of a large number of *Yavanas*

. . . . Up the upper Indus

19 6. *Cīna* (Mongoloid)

6a. *Hūṇa* (Turk?)

7. *Śaka* (Iranian)

8. *Oḍra*. Probably corrupt.

9. those living in the mountains (parvatāntaravāsin)

. . . .

10. *Vārṣṇeya*

11. *Hāra-Hūṇa* A tribe of Hūṇas? If so, they occupied nearly the same territory.

12. and blacks (kṛṣṇa) of the Himavat (i.e., the Dasyu *Utsavasaṅketas*)

20 12a. *Nīpa*

. . . . From Śaka territory to NW

26 13. *Śaka* (Iranian)

14. *Tuṣāra* (Edg. *Tukhāra*, N_1 *Tukāra*, $Ś_1$ *Tukkāṭa*)

15. *Kaṅka* "heron" ($D_{1.2}$ B_2 *Kāka*; V_1 $B_{1.2m.3.6}$ *Kāṁboja*, K_{1-3} *Kaṁpa*, $Ś_1$ *Kahva*)

16. *Romaśa* "hairy, shaggy," also applied to faulty pronunciation of vowels. (D_{1-5} B $G_{1.4-6}$ M *Romaka* "body hair"). *Romaśa* = *Pahlava*; the same sequence *Śaka, Tuṣāra, Kaṅka, Romaśa* is found in Mbh. XII. 65 except that *Pahlava* replaces *Romaśa*; and the Pahlavas

[1] *Cr. Ed.* II. 47—48; Roy II. 51—52.

were "hairy"—they were distinguished by their beards (Viṣṇupur., IV. 3; Hariv. 14). (Iranian)

The above people gave elephants, horses, gold.

. . . .

17. kings of the E (should read W or NW)

. . . .

II.48.2 They that dwell by the river Śailodā flowing between the mountains of Meru and Mandara and enjoy the shade of topes of Kicaka bamboo:

3 18. *Khaśa* (V_1 N_1 $B_{2.4}$ $D_{1.2.6}$ K_4 *Khasa*, $B_{3.5.6}$ Dn_2 D_{3-5} *Khaśa*, $Ś_1$ *Khaga*)

19. *Ekāśana Jyoha* (V_1 N_1 B_6 $D_{1.6}$ *Ekāsana Hyarha*, $B_{2-5.6m}$ D_{2-5} *-yana Hyarha*, B_1 *Yakāsana*, $D_{3.5}$ *Hyoha*, $Ś_1$ *Ekādana Jyeha*, K_4 *Ekāṁgana Jyoha*, G_1 D_6 *-jyoha*)

20. *Pradara* ($K_{2.4}$ *Pravara*, K_3 *-vāra*, $B_{1.3.6}$ D_{2-5} *Pravaha*)

21. *Dīrghaveṇu*

22. *Paśupa* "herdsman" (D_6 K Dn *Pārada*, $Ś_1$ *Barbara*). *Paśupāla* on left forefoot, and in the NE.

23. *Kulinda* (so V_1 N_1 B D exc. D_6; Edg.*Kuṇinda*) (W Himalayish)

24. *Taṅgaṇa* (V_1 *Taṁkaṇa*). *Tvaṅgaṇa* on left forefoot (i.e., in NE).

25. *para-Taṅgaṇa* (Himalayish Tibeto-Burmic)

All the above (nos. 18—25) brought pots filled with gold raised from under the earth by ants. The above tribes were in Tibet, as shown by this tale of the golddigging ants and the mention of Himavat, the region of the N Kurus, and Kailāsa.

. . . . In the NW

12 26. *Kravyāda* "flesh-eaters" (so V_1 N_1 B K_4 D_{1-5}; D_6 $Ś_1$ Edg. *Kāyavya*, K_{1-3} *Kāmboja*). *Kravyāda* in SW (i.e., NW) in Bṛhat. (Dardic?)

27. *Darada* (Dardic)

28. *Dārva* (Dardic?)

29. *Śūra*

30. *Vaiyamaka* (D_6 K_4 $Ś_1$ *Vaiyamika*, $B_{3.4.6}$ $D_{1.2}$ *vai Yavana*, B_1 *vai Darada*)

. .

31. *Audumbara* "region abounding in udumbara trees." *Uḍumbara* in middle of tortoise. (Yādava)

32. *Durvibhāga* "difficult to be disunited"

33. *Paurava* (so V_1 N_1 $B_{3.4.6}$ D_2 T_1 $G_{1.2.4.5}$ M; Edg. *Pārada*)

34. *Bāhlika* (early Mānava, later Ānava)

. . . .

13 35. *Kāśmīra* (Dardic)
36. *Kruṇḍamāṇa* (N_1 V_1 *Kraṁdamāna*, K_2 *Kuṁḍamāṇa*, T_1 *Kuṁdamāna*, B D_{1-5} *Kuṁdamāla*, D_6 *Kumāra*)
37. *Ghoraka* (so V_1 N_1 D_6 K_4 Dn; T_1 G_{2-5} *Gauraka*, G_1 M *Horaka*, G_6 *Goratra*; B_6 *Paurasa*, B_{1-5} D_{1-5} *Paurava*, Ś$_1$ Edg. *Pauraka*). *Ghoras* on tail.
38. *Haṁsa-kāyana* (K_1 *-kāyata*, K_3 *-kāhina*)
.. E part of the old Panjāb
39. *Śibi* (W Ānava)
40. *Trigarta*
41. *Yaudheya* (W Ānava)
42. *Madra-* (W Ānava)
43. *Kekaya* ($K_{2.3.4}$ $B_{1.4.6}$ $D_{1.2.3.5}$ *Kaikaya*, Dn_2 *Kekaya*) (W Ānava)
.... NW Panjab

14 44. *Ambaṣṭha* (W Ānava)
45. *Kaukura* (Yādava)
46. *Tārkṣya* (a few MMS *Tārkṣa*) (W Ānava). *Tārakṣuras*, a corruption of *Tārkṣya-Śūra?*, on the tail, and *Tārakṣiti* in W. (W Anava)
47. *Vastrapa* (V_1 B_{2-5} $D_{3.5}$ *Vārṣṇeya*)[1] (Yādava?)
48. *Pahlava* (Iranian)
.. Between Ravi and Sutlej
49. *Vaśāti* (so V_1 N_1 $D_{1.2.5.6}$ $B_{2.3.5}$ Ś$_1$ Dn G_5; Edg. *Vasāti*) (W Ānava?)
50. *sa-Mauleya* (W Ānava)
51. *Kṣudraka-Mālava* (Bhil?)
.... In E

15 52. *Śoṇḍika* (V_1 N_1 *Śoṁḍika*, K_2 *Soṁḍika*, B_1 *Sauṁḍika*, G_4 *Śauṁḍīra*, Edg. *Śauṇḍaka*; D_6 K_4 Dn(!) *Pauṁḍrika*). In Puṇḍra or Utkala, not only because of the "correction" above but also because of the cacuminals. (Mundic)
53. *Kukkura* "dog" (V_1 *Kaivalāḥ Matsyāḥ*, B D_5 *Kairalā Matsyāḥ* [B_3 *-lāścaiva*], N_1 *Krauṁjara*, K_3 *Kaukara*, Ś$_1$ K_2 *Kaukura*). *Kerala* is incorrect here; *Kevala* may be correct.
54. *Śaka caiva viśāṁ pate.*
..
55. *Aṅga* (E Ānava)
56. *Vaṅga* (E Ānava)

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[1] *Vārṣṇeya* is wrong in this locale if it is correctly placed in no. 10 above.

57. *Puṇḍra* ($Ś_1$ *Puṁḍra*, $B_{3.5}$ K_2 D_{3-5} *ca Pauṁḍra*, V_1 $B_{1.2.6}$ $D_{1.2}$ *Kaliṁga*) (W Ānava)
58. *Śāṇavatya* (so V_1 N_1 Dn_1; D_1 *Sa-*, B_2 *Sānavatya*, Edg. *Śānavatya*, D_2 *Sāravātya*)
59. *Gaya*. The inhabitants of Gayā; Sudyumna base, early Mānava, middle Āmāvasava, late Vāsava.

. . . .

17 60. *Vaṅga* (E Ānava)
61. *Kaliṅga-patayas-* "-sovereigns" (V_1 N_1 $D_{1.2.4.5}$ B_4 G_1 *Kāliṁga-patayaḥ*, D_6 $Ś_1$ K Dn *Kaliṁgā Magadhāḥ*) (E Ānava)
62. *Tāmralipta* (Tibetans)
63. *su-Puṇḍraka* (V_1 N_1 K_3 *su-*, $Ś_1$ *ca*) (E Ānava)

. .

64. *Dugūla* (so $Ś_1$; Cd cites *Dukūla* "fine cloth or clothes" (Edg. form), K_4 Dn $D_{4.6}$ *Dauvālika*)
65. *Kauśika* ($D_{4.6}$ K_4 Dn *Sāgaraka* "inhabitants of the sea-coast"; compare Sagar Island at mouth of the Hooghly River and see *Sāgara-saṅgama* in NLD)
66. *Patrorṇa*
67. *Prāvarāṇa*. A mountainous country according to purāṇas, where it occurs in the sequence: *Taṅgaṇa*, *Khaśa*, **Ku(n)t(h)a*, *Prāvaraṇa*, *Hūṇa*, *Darva*, all on the side of the Himavat.

This dyuta list makes it appear that the Pāṇḍavas' digvijayas were really for the suppression of border raiders. A few other kingdoms—*Matsya*, *Cola*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Siṁhala*, etc.—are named in a rambling manner following the above list, but this is obviously a later addition to give the Pāṇḍavas' conquests the aspect of universality. The following list also indicates the border-warfare nature of the digvijayas.

Kings That Sañjaya Saw at Yudhiṣṭhira's Court[1]

In the E

III.48.18 68. *Vaṅga-* ($Ś_1$ *Aṁga-Vaṁga-Puṁḍra*) (E Ānava)
69. *Aṅga* (E Ānava)
70. *Pauṇḍra-* (E Ānava, Mundic base)
71. *Uḍra* (Mundic)

In the S

72. *Cola* (Tamil)
73. *Draviḍa-* (Tamil)
74. *Andhraka* (Telugu)

19 75. islands and countries on seaboard and frontier states, including rulers of

[1] III. 51. For dated manuscripts, see p. 83.

76. *Siṁhala* (Ceylon)
77. barbarous Mleccha and dwellers in jungle (Vedda)
78. natives of *Laṅkā*

In the W and N

79. kings of W, and chiefs of seashore (Sāgarānūpaka) (W Ānava; see 2.164, 211)

20 80. *Pahlava* (Iranian)
81. *Darada* (Dardic)
82. various tribes of *Kirāta* (E Himalayish)
83. *Yavana* (Taurvasava)
84. *Śaka* (Iranian)

21 85. *Hāra-Hūṇa* (Turk?)
86. *Cīna* (Mongoloid?)
87. *Tuṣāra-* (so D K_{2-4} T_1 $G_{1.2}$ M_1; $Ś_1$ K_1 Suk. *Tukhāra*)
88. *Saindhava*
89. *Jāguḍa* (so B_1; $Ś_1$ K_1 *Jāhuḍa*). On Indus in pur.
90. *Rāmaṭha* (so $D_{1-3.5}$; Dc_1 *Rāmaha*, Suk. *Tramaṭha*) (W Ānava)
91. *Muṇḍa* (out of place here; better *Hūṇa*, as in K_3)
92. *Strī-rājya*
93. *Taṅgaṇa* (W Himalayish?)

22 94. *Kaikeya* (W Ānava) }
95. *Mālava* } In N recension only.
96. *Kāśmīra* (Dardic) }

Army Arrays (List 4)

In Yudhiṣṭhira's army[1]

VI.46.45 1. Head: King Drupada (*S Pañcāla*), and troops
2. Eyes: Kings Kunti-bhoja, Caidya

46 3. Neck: ruler of *Dāśārṇaka* (Yādava)
4. *Prayāga* (inhabitants of Prayāga)
5. *Dāśeraka*
6. *Anūpaka* (Bel. *-ga*) (Yādava)
7. *Kirāta* (E Himalayish)

47 8. Back: Yudhiṣṭhira with the *Paṭaccara* (Yādava; on Kaurava side in Mbh. VIII. 6)
9. *Hūṇa* (so Da Dn_1 D_5 K_4 T_1 $G_{2.4}$ $M_{1.3(inf.\ lin.).4}$; $D_{1.4.7.8}$ Cv B Dn_2 *Pauṁḍra* [D_1 *-ḍhra*][2] $G_{1.3}$*Bhruṇa*, Bel. *Huṇḍa*)

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[1] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 46; Roy VI. 50. For dated manuscripts see p. 63.
[2] *Puṇḍra* is incorrect here since it occurs in no. 15 below.

10. *Pauravaka*
11. *Niṣāda* (Bhil)

48 12. Wings: Bhīmasena, Dhṛṣṭadyumna (son of Pṛṣata), and sons of Draupadi and Abhimanyu and Sātyaki and

49 13. *Piśāca* (Dardic)

14. *Darada* (Dardic)
15. *Pauṇḍra* ($D_{4.6.8}$ Dn_2 B_2 $K_{0.2}$ *Pauṁḍra*, D_1 *Pauṁḍhra*, $D_{3.5}$ Da_2 K_4 B_1 Bel. *Puṁḍra*) (E Ānava, Mundic base)
16. *Kuṇḍī-viṣa* (*viṣa* "servant") (so Bel.; D_1 *Kuṁti-paya*, K_2 *Kuṁttīviṣa*, $D_{4.5.7.8}$ Da Dn $B_{1.2.4}$ K_4 *Kuṁḍīvṛṣa*, T G_4 $M_{3.4}$ *Kuṁḍiviṣa*, G_3 *Kuṁḍa-vṛṣa*) (Mundic)
17. *Maḍaka* (so Bel.; K_1 *Maṁḍaka*, D_2 K_3 *Magadha* [< **Madhaga* < **Maḍaka?*], D_6 *Mā-*; $D_{4.7.8}$ Dn_2 $B_{2.4}$ *Yavana*; D_1[1] M *Maruta*, D_5 Da Dn_1 $B_{1.3}$ K_4 G_3 *Māruta*, D_3 *Māruka*,[2] K_5 *Maruka*, $Ś_1$ *Meruka*).[3] Modern *Meerut?* *Māṇḍavya* (cf. K_1) on left hind foot, and in NW (i.e., far NW)
18. *Laḍaka* (so Bel.; K_1 *Laḍaka*; $Ś_1$ *Laruka*[4]; $D_{1.2.6}$ K_3 *Veṇuka*, $D_{4.5.7.8}$ Da Dn B $K_{4.5}$ S *Dhenuka*). Compare Belvalkar form with present *Ladakhi* dialect of Tibetan (classical Tibetan *Lad-wags*).[5] *Laḍaha* on left hind foot, and in NW (i.e., far NW). Dardic; see Petech.
19. *Taṅgaṇa* (W Himalayish?)
20. *para-Taṅgaṇa*

50 21. *Bāhlika* (so Bel.; $D_{3.6-8}$ Dn_2 $K_{2.3}$ T_2 G_2 *Bāhlīka*, K_0 *Vāhīka*, M_1 *Vāhika*, $Ś_1$ *Vālmīka*) (Mānava, later Ānava, if *Bāhlika* is correct)

22. *Tittira* (Dravidian)
23. *Cola* ($D_{1.2.6.7}$ $K_{1.2}$ *Coḍa*, $Ś_1$ K_0 *Coḍra*) (Tamil)

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[1] Appears in position of *Tittira* in no. 22 below.

[2] Māruka, a people in W in purāṇas.

[3] A mountain in NE in Bṛhat.

[4] *Laruka* looks like patch-work, the first syllable of *Ladaka* and the last two syllables of the preceding word, *Meruka*.

[5] Berthold Laufer showed that Tibetan *w* was not a mere orthographic sign to distinguish homophones ("Über die *va zur*. Ein Beitrag zur Phonetik der tibetischen Sprache," *WZKM* 12 (1898), 289–307; 13 (1899), 95–109, 199–226). Yet it seems to have dropped without a trace in all modern dialects except Groma (Tromowa) and Sikkimese, where *-wa* became *-o*. And it was not the same as Tibeto-Burmic *w*, and this comparison indicates it was not the same as Skr. *v*.

12 42. Droṇa followed by: *Kuntala* (i.e., S Kuntala; predominantly Dravidian)
43. *Daśārṇa* (Yādava)
44. *Magadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic, late Vāsava)
13 45. *Vidarbha* (Yādava)
46. *Mekala* (D_1 *Mekhaleya*, S (exc. T_2) *Mekhala*, D_8 *Rekala*, Da_1 *Makala*, $K_{1.5}$ *Malaka*, $K_{0.2}$ *Melaka*) (Mundic)
47. *Karṇa-prāvaraṇa* (K_5 *Karṇa-prāvaraka*; D_1 *Durdura*, *Śaka*)

14 48. *Gāndhāra* (*Drauhyava*, i.e., Dardic)
49. *Sindhu-Sauvīra* (W Ānava)
50. *Śibi* ($D_{1.4.7}$ Da_1 Dn $Ś_1$ K_{0-2} M_4 *Śivi*) (W Ānava)
51. *Vasāti* (W Anava?)
52. and Śakuni with his troops (Gāndhāra mountaineers, VI. 20)
15 53. Duryodhana with: *Aśvātaka* (D_1 *Asmāka*). Compare form with *Aṅgataka* on tail, or *Aśva-keśa* on tail, *Aśva-kālanata* on left hind foot (i.e., in Tibet), and *Aśvamukha* on left flank.
54. *Vikarṇa* (D_3 *Trigīrṇa*, M *Nikīrṇa* < **Vigīrṇa*?) (non-Aryan)[1]
55. *Varmila* (so $D_{2.6}$ K_3; K_5 *Carmala*, $K_{0.1}$ *Carmila*, $Ś_1$ Bel. *Śarmila*, $D_{5.7.8}$ Da_2 *Cāmala*, D_4 Dn *Vāmana* "dwarfish"). *Vamana* on tail.
56. *Kośala* (Bel. *Kosala*) (E Mānava)
16 57. *Darada* (Dardic)
58. *Cambupa*? (D_6 *Cāṁbupa*, D_3 *Cāṁdhaka-*, K_1 *Camapa*, K_0 *Carmapa*, D_2 K_3 *Cubupa*, G_2 *Cucupa*, Bel. *Cūcupa*; D_1 *ca Khasa*; D_5 Dn_1 Da B K_4 *ca Śaka*; $D_{4.7.8}$ Dn_2 *ca Vṛka* "wolf")
59. *Kṣudraka-Mālava* (Bhil?)

Kuru army (Gāruḍa formation)[2]
VI. 52.4 60. Head: *Trigarta*
61. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)

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[1] See Index to Appendix, *sub voce*. [2] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 52; Roy VI. 56.

62. *Kaikeya* (W Ānava)
63. *Vāṭadhāna* (Yādava?)
5 64. Neck: *Madraka* (W Ānava)
65. *Sindhu-Sauvīra* (W Ānava)
66. *Pañcanada* (Iranian)
7 67. Tail: *Avanti* princes (Haihaya)
68. *Kāmboja* (Iranian)
69. *Śaka* (Iranian)
70. *Śūrasena* (Yādava)
8 70. Right wing: *Māgadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic, late Vāsava)
71. *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava)
72. *Dāśeraka* (all tribes)
9 73. Left wing: *Kānana* (so Bel.; $D_{2.3.6}$ K_3 *Kānīna* "born of a young wife" [cf. 1.45], D_1 *Vāmana* "dwarf,"[1] $D_{4.7.8}$ Dn_2 B K_4 *Kāruṣa*)[2]
74. *Vikuṇṭha* ($D_{2.6}$ K_3 *Vikuṁṭha*, M_4 *Vikuṁta*; D_1 *Vivūrya* < **Vikhurya* < **Vikurtha?*, T G *Vikurva*; K_0 *Vikubja*, Bel. *Vikuñja*). See no. 87 below.
75. *Muṇḍa* ($D_{4.5.7.8}$ K_4 Da Dn $B_{1.2.4}$ *Muṁḍa*, D_3 $K_{0.2}$ *Muttha*, $Ś_1$ K_1 *Mukta*; D_1 *Sūkṣma* "small," $D_{2.6}$ K_3 *Suhma*). (Mundic; Muṇḍas probably lived in Suhma)
76. *Kuṇḍīviṣa* (Western recension *Puṇḍraviṣa*, since the Kuṇḍīviṣa probably lived in Puṇḍra) (Mundic)

Pāṇḍava army[3]
77. *Cedi* (Vāsava)
78. *Kāśi* (Āyava)
79. *Karūṣa* (Vāsava)
80. *Paurava* (Paurava)
81. *Pāñcāla* (Paurava)
82. *Prabhadraka*

Kuru army[4]
VI.83.6 83. Bhīṣma supported by *Mālava*
84. inhabitants of S countries
85. the *Āvanti* (Haihaya)
7 86. Droṇa (of N *Pañcāla*), accompanied by
87. *Vikuṇṭha* (D_3 K_1 *Vikuṁṭha*, D_1 *Vikuṁda*, $Ś_1$ *Cikuṁṭha* [*ci* < *vi*], $K_{0.2}$ *Vikuṭṭa*; D_8 Da_1 Dn_1 B_1 *Kuliṁda*, D_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kuṇiṁda*, S

[1] *Vamana* on tail. [2] Incorrect, for Karūṣa was on Pāṇḍava side.
[3] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 52; Roy VI. 56. [4] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 83; Roy VI. 88.

(mostly) *Pulimda*, Bel. *Pulinda*. *Kulinda* would go better with the two following:

88. *Pārada* (Iranic?)

89. *Kṣudraka-Mālava* (Bhil?)

8 90. Bhagadatta, king of *Yavanas* (Taurvasava), accompanied by

91. *Māgadha* (early Tibeto-Burmic, late Vāsava)

92. *Kalinga* (E Ānava); (T_1 G_4 *Viśāla*; D_2 K_5 *Kulimda*)

93. *Piśāca* (Dardic)

9 94. Bṛhadbala, king of *Kośala*, accompanied by

95. *Mekala* (so $Ś_1$; S *Mekhala, Meghala*) (Mundic)

96. *Traipura* (Haihaya)

97. *Cicchila* (so Bel.; $Ś_1$ *Cicchira*, K_3 S *Barbara* [T_1 *Śabara*], D_6 *Tricchila*, D_3 *Cighira*; B *Citraka*, $D_{7.8}$ Dn_2 *Cibuka*, D_4 *Cubuka*. If these are from a single form, perhaps it is **Citrula*, *-la* becoming assimilated to *-ra* by influence of preceding *r*, *tr* being misread as *b* and *c*. D_5 Da Dn_1 K_4 *Pumḍraka*)

10 98. Traigarta, ruler of *Prasthala*, accompanied by

99. *Kāmboja* (Iranian)

100. *Yavana* (Taurvasava)

In Kuru army[1]

VI.18.12 101. *Abhīṣāha* (Yādava?)

102. *Śūrasena* (Yādava)

103. *Śibi* (W Ānava)

104. *Vasāti* (W Ānava?)

13 105. *Śālva* (Yādava)

106. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)

107. *Ambaṣṭha* (W Ānava)

108. *Trigarta*

109. *Kaikaya* (Bel. *Kekaya*) (W Ānava)

110. *Sauvīra* (W Ānava)

111. *Kitava* (W Ānava?)

The last two countries of the above list were "lifted" to place at the beginning of the following list; and the first four

[1] *Cr. Ed.*, Roy VI. 18.

countries of the above list form the last line of the following list:

In Pāṇḍava army:[1] *Sauvīra*, *Kitava*, Easterners, Westerners, Northerners, *Mālava*: *Abhīṣāha*, *Śūrasena*, *Śibi*, *Vasāti*.

In Kuru army[2]

VI.20.8 112. *Gāndhāra* (Drauhyava)

10 113. *Bāhlīka* (Mānava—W Ānava)
114. *Ambaṣṭha* (W Ānava)
115. *Sindhu* (W Ānava)
116. *Sauvīra* (W Ānava)
117. *Pañcanada* (Iranian)
118. *Śūra*

12 119. *Śālva* (Yādava)
120. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)
121. *Kekaya* ($D_{2.3}$ Dn_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kaikeya*) (W Ānava)

13 122. *Śaka* (Iranian)
123. *Kirāta* (E Himalayish)
124. *Yavana* (Taurvasava)
125. *Pahlava* (Iranian)

14 126. *Vṛṣṇi-* (Yādava)
127. *Bhoja* (Yādava-Haihaya)
128. *Saurāṣṭra-* (Yādava)
129. *Nairṛta* (Yādava?)

15 130. *Trigarta*

In Kuru army:[3]

VI.112.108 131. *Videha* (E Mānava)
132. *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava)
133. *Dāśeraka* (so D_3; K_2 *Daśeraka*, K_{3-5} $D_{1.2.4-8}$ $B_{1.2.4}$ Da_2 Dn_2 *Dāseraka*)

134. *Niṣāda* (Bhil)
135. *Sauvīra* (W Ānava)
109 136. *Bāhlika* ($D_{1.4.6-8}$ Da_2 Dn_2 B K_4 $M_{2.5}$ G_{1-3} *Bāhlīka*) (early Mānava, late W Ānava)
137. *Darada* (Dardic)
138. *Prācyodīcya* "easterners, northerners," $D_{2.4.7.8}$ Da Dn_2 $K_{3.4}$ B *Pratīcyodīcya* "westerners, n-."

[1] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 102. 7; Roy VI. 107. [2] VI. 20.
[3] *Cr. Ed.* VI. 112. 108ff.; Roy VI. 118. 32ff.

139. *Mālava*
140. *Abhīṣāha* (Yādava?)
141. *Śūrasena* (Yādava)
142. *Śibi* (W Ānava)
143. *Vasāti* ($D_{4.7.8}$ B K_4 *Vaśāti*) (W Ānava)

110 144. *Śālva* (Yādava)

144a. *Śraya* (so $K_{0.4}$ $G_{1.3}$; Da Dn_1 D_5 *Śreya*, D_1 *Śaya*, $D_{4.6.8}$ Dn_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Śaka*; D_2 *Kaṅka*) (W Ānava)

145. *Trigarta*
146. *Ambāṣṭha* (W Ānava)
147 *Kekaya* (D_{2-8} Da Dn_2 $K_{3.5}$ *Kaikaya*) (W Ānava)

Elephant fighters in Kuru army:[1]

VIII.17.2 148. *Aṅga* (E Ānava)

149. *Vaṅga* (E Ānava)
150. *Puṇḍra* (E Ānava)
151. *Māgadha* (early TB, late Vāsava)
152. *Tāmraliptaka* (Tibetan)

3 153. *Mekala* (Mundic)

154. *Kośala* (E Mānava)
155. *Madra* (W Ānava)
156. *Daśārṇa* (Yādava)
157. *Niṣadha* (Yādava), uniting with the
158. *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava), attacked the Pāñcāla.

Regional Groups

Dated manuscripts: V_1 1444; D_8 1458; D_7 1613; D_5 1614; D_2 1670; $Ś_2$ 1708; $Ś_1$ 1709; B_5 1719; Dn_1 1730; D_1 1736; M_2 1742; B_4 1745; K_4 1772; K_3 1794; B_3 1812; B_2 1818.

Peoples of no religion (all actually in S)[2] (List 5)

VIII.30.45 1. *Kāraskara* (Dravidian)

2. *Māhiṣaka* (V_1 *Māhiṣīka*, M_2 *-ṣi-*, Vaidya *Mahiṣaka*) (Kanarese)
3. *Kaliṅga* (V_1 $D_{2-4.6.7}$ $Ś_2$ $B_{1.2.4.5}$ Dn_1 *Kāliṁga*) (Telugu)
4. *Kerala* (so V_1 $D_{3.4.7}$ $B_{1.4.5}$; Ś $K_{1.2.4}$ *Kīṭakāṭavī*, D_2 *Kīṭakāḍhavī*, T_1 M_{2-4} *Kīṭakālika*, B_2 *Kīḍhakīḍhaka*; Vaidya *Kīkaṭāṭavī* "Kīkaṭa forest," *Kīkaṭa* being an early name for Magadha)
5. *Karkoṭaka* (Bhil?)
6. *Vīraka* "little man, manikin" (V_1 *Cīnaka* is way out of place geographically). (Bhil)

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[1] VIII. 22. [2] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. 45; Roy VIII. 44. 42.

Blamable for low grade of brāhmaṇas (all in NW)[1] (List 6)

VIII.30.47 1. *Prasthala* (a clan of Trigartas)

2. *Madra* (W Ānava)

3. *Gāndhāra* (Drauhyava)

4. *Āraṭṭa*

5. *Khasa* (foothill Indic). Nos. 1—5 inserted by N T_2 after *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. 47ab.

6. *Vasāti* (W Ānava?)

7. *Sindhu* (W Ānava)

8. *Sauvīra* (W Ānava)

(List 7)

In the NW (the king of Gāndhāra, with his own force of:)[2]

VIII.4.96 1. *Ājāneya* (K_4 D_3 *Ajāneya*) (W Ānava)

2. *Saindhava*

3. Pārvatīya "mountaineer"

4. Nadīja "dwellers on the river"

5. *Kāmboja* (Iranian)

6. *Vanāyu* (V_1 $D_{3.8}$ Dn_1 K_4 *Vanāyuja*). See 1.135; 9.10.

7. *Bāhlika* (W Mānava, later W Ānava)

Historical (List 8)[3]

From fear of Jarāsandha, king of the Māgadhas, the 18 tribes of Bhojas all fled to the west, but also:

II.13.25 1. *Śūrasena* (Yādava)

2. *Bhadrakāra* (Yādava)

3. *Bodha* (V_1 D_4 T_1 G_2 *Yodha*, $G_{3.5}$ M *Yaudha*) (Yādava)

4. *Śālva* (Yādava)

5. *Paṭaccara* (Yādava)

. .

6. *Susthala* "good ground" (so N_1 V_1 $D_{1.2.4.6}$ $B_{2.4.5}$ Dn; Edg. *Susthara*, K_4 *Susthūra*, $K_{2.3}$ *Sasthūla*, $B_{3.6}$ *Susthūla*)

7. *Sukuṭṭa* ($B_{4.6}$ D_2 *Mukuṭṭa* [B_6 *Ma-*]. *Mukuṭa* "crown; crest, head."

8. *Kulinda* (N_1 V_1 D B *Kuliṁda* [B_3 *Pu-*, N_1 B_5 *-ga*, B_6 $D_{1.2}$ *-ka*; Edg. *Kuṇinda*) (W Him.)

9. *Kunti* (Haihaya)

The following fled to the country of the Kuntis:

26 10. *Śālvāyana* "belonging to the Śālvas" (Yādava) (Edg. *Śālveyāna*)

11. *S Pāñcāla* (Aryan)

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[1] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. (ins. after 47ab), 47cd; Roy VIII. 44. 46.

[2] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 4. 96; Roy VIII. 7.

[3] *Cr. Ed.* II. 13. 25ff.; Roy II. 14.

12. *E Kośala* (E Mānava)

Leaving their dominions in the N, the following fled into the southern country:

27 13. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)

14. *Saṁnyastapāda* "one who has put his feet upon" ($Ś_1$ K_1 G_3 M *Sunyastapāda* "with feet well laid upon")

Historical (List 9)[1]

Dated MSS: K_1 1566; D_5 1600; D_2 1606; D_3 1612; K_2 1612; D_8 1694; D_6 1704; B_3 1722; B_5 1741; Dn_2 1744; D_{10} 1766; D_1 1772; D_7 1781; K_5 1825; M_2 1853. All dates *circa.*

Even as, when Dharma became extinct, Kali was born in the race of Asuras, flourishing with prosperity and blazing with energy, so was born:

V.72.13 1. Udāvarta among the *Haihaya*
2. Janamejaya ,, ,, *Nīpa*
3. Bāhula ,, ,, *Tālajaṅga* (Haihaya)
4. Vasu ,, ,, *Kṛmī* (K_1 Mudgala in *Kṛṣī*, K_2 in *Hṛṣī*, K_5 Mujala in *Ṛṣī*, T_1 G [exc. G_3] Mudgala in *Kṛmī*, D_1 Suhṛta in *Krimī*, D_7 Yugala in *Kṛmī*). If *Kṛmī* is correct, cf. modern *Kurmi*, Hindu dialect on pl. 9, Constable's Atlas.
14 5. Ajabindu ,, ,, *Suvīra* (W Ānava)
6. Kuśarddhika ,, ,, *Surāṣṭra* (Yādava)
7. Arkaja ,, ,, *Balīha* ($K_{1.2}$ D_9 *Balāha*, D_7 *-ka*)
8. Dhautamūlaka ,, ,, *Cīna* (Mongoloid?)
15 9. Hayagrīva ,, ,, *Videha* (E Mānava)
10. Varayu ,, ,, *Mahaujas*
11. Bāhu ,, ,, *Sundara-vega*
12. Purūravas ,, ,, *Dīptākṣa*
16 13. Sahaja ,, ,, *Cedi-Matsya* (D_1 *Cedi-Vatsa*)
14. Bṛhadbala[2] ,, ,, *Praceta* (so De; D B K_4 T_2 *Pravīra* "hero"; descendants of Pravīra, according to Monier-Williams)
15. Dhāraṇa ($K_{1.2.5}$ B_3 $D_{1.5.8}$ Vāraṇa) in *Candra-vatsa* (De *Cendra-vatsa*, $D_{3.4.9}$ $B_{1.3.5}$ T_2 *Caṁdra-vaṁśa*)
16. Vigāhana *Sukuṭa* (K_1 *Sudugdha*, K_2 B_2 *Sakuha*)

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[1] *Cr. Ed.* V. 72. 13ff.; Roy V. 73.

[2] $D_{1.5.6.8.10}$ B Dn Ds *Vṛṣadhvaja.*

17 17. Śama *Nandi-vega* "joy-emotion"

"These vile individuals . . . sprang up at the end of each yuga, in their respective races, for the destruction of their kinsmen."

State of Aryanization[1] (List 10)

VIII.30.60 1. The *Kaurava* (Vaidya *Kurava*)

2. *Pāñcāla* (Paurava)

3. *Śālva* (Yādava) (V_1 B_1 *Sālva-Matsya*)

4. *Matsya* (W Ānava?)

5. *Naimiṣa* (D_8 *sa-Sainika*). Inhabitants of Naimiṣāraṇya "Naimiṣa wood"

6. *Kośala* (Vaidya *Kosala*) (E Mānava)

7. *Kāśi* (Āyava)

8. *Aṅga* (Dn_1 $D_{2.3}$ *Pauṁḍra*) (E Ānava)

9. *Kaliṅga* (E Ānava)

10. *Māgadha* (Vaidya *Magadha*) (early TB, late Vāsava)

61 11. *Cedi* (early Yādava, late Vāsava) know what the true religion is.

List 11[2]

1 *brāhmaṁ Pāñcālā*[3] *Kauraveyāḥ svadharmaḥ*[4]
2 *satyaṁ Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāś ca yajñaḥ*[5]
3 *prācyā dāsā vṛṣalā dākṣiṇātyāḥ*
4 *stenā Bāhlīkāḥ saṁkarā vai Surāṣṭrāḥ*

The Pāñcālas are guided by study of the vedas; the Kauravas carry out their own duties;
The Matsyas follow the truth, and the Śūrasenas perform sacrifices[6]
(But) the easterners are "Dāsas," the southerners low people,
The Bāhlīkas thieves, and the Saurāṣṭras really the offspring of caste (racial) mixture.[7]

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[1] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. 60ff.; Roy VIII. 45.

[2] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. 73; Roy VIII. 45. 28.

[3] Cv cites *Pāñcālāḥ*.

[4] Calcutta edition of the Vulgate has *-yās tu dharmyaṁ*.

[5] Cal. *yajñaṁ*.

[6] Obviously the author of these lines was equating peoples with their outstanding characteristics, so that literally this passage would read "The Pāñcālas are the study of the vedas, the Kauravas are their own duties, the Matsyas are truth, the Śūrasenas are sacrifice." But this would be meaningless, a translation which did not translate,—something which both Roy and I have tried to avoid by a freer rendering.

[7] Roy's translation: "The Pāncālas observe the duties enjoined in the vedas; the Kauravas observe truth; the Matsyas and Śūrasenas perform sacrifices; the

List 12[1]

79 1 *iṅgitajñāś ca Magadhāḥ prekṣitajñāś ca Kosalāḥ*
2 *ardhoktāḥ Kuru-Pāñcālāḥ Śālvāḥ kṛtsnānuśāsanāḥ*
3 *pārvatīyāś ca viṣamā yathaiva girayas* (*Sibayas* V_1 $D_{3.4.7}$) *tathā*
80 4 *sarvajñā Yavanā rājañ Śūrāś caiva viśeṣataḥ*
5 *Mlecchāḥ svasaṁjñāniyatā nānukta itaro janaḥ*

The Magadhas comprehend gestures, the Kośalas understand at a glance; (early TB, late Vāsava; E Mānava)
The Kuru-Pāñcālas a speech half-uttered, the Śālvas only when the whole sentence is spoken; (Aryan; Yādava)
Mountaineers, like the Śibi, understand with difficulty (W Ānava)
The Yavanas, O king, are omniscient, the Śūras especially so. (Taurvasava; Iranian?)
The Mleccha rely on their own knowledge; "other people cannot understand."[2]

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easterners follow the practices of the śudras; the southerners are fallen; the Bāhlikas are thieves; the Saurāṣṭras are bastards." But obviously the construction in this passage is parallel: the first half of a line is matched by the second half. And I have so translated the text. One will note that the peoples are mentioned in the descending order of respect.

[1] *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 30. 79–80; Roy VIII. 45. 34–35.

[2] Roy: "The Magadhas are comprehenders of signs; the Kośala comprehend from what they see; the Kurus and Pāñcālas comprehend from a half-uttered speech; the Śālvas cannot comprehend till the whole speech is uttered. The mountaineers, like the Śibi, can with difficulty be made to understand; the Yavanas, O king, are omniscient; the Śūra are particularly so; the Mleccha are wedded to the creations of their own fancy (i.e., they imagine things which were not said); other people cannot understand."

Roy and I do not differ much on essentials. In the third line I have preferred the reading *Śibi* because it occurs in the oldest dated manuscript. Prof. Edgerton, in a personal communication, prefers *giri*, translating "the mountaineers are *viṣama*, just like the mountains (which they inhabit)," commenting "applied to mountains, *viṣama* clearly means 'rugged'; applied to mountaineers, I am not sure; 'incomprehensible' is one meaning of *viṣama*,—but here perhaps better 'difficult, not easy (in comprehending).'"

One will note that peoples are mentioned in the descending order of their comprehension except in the fourth line, where the Yavanas are said to be omniscient. Now the Yavanas are generally held to be Greeks, or at best Iranians, and it is not likely that the Aryans would rate them very high on their comprehension of Sanskrit. And the same applies to the Śūras, a little known people on the western frontier who probably spoke an Iranian language; they are unlikely to have been considered especially omniscient by the Indo-Aryans. One may suggest that the text has been corrupted here, that the original form was *sarvājñā* and that we should translate "The Yavanas, and especially the Śūras, do not understand everything." The fact that the compound is not found in Sanskrit literature is outweighed by the absurdity of the Yavanas being omniscient as the text stands.

In the last line, Prof. Edgerton suggests that *svasaṁjnāniyatā* means "relying

Additonal Data

For some lists of ethnic names in the Mahābhārata the parts of the epic in which they occur have not yet appeared in the *Critical Edition.* Most of the names in these lists are well known and the *Critical Edition* is not likely to reveal much regarding the spelling of the names. A few names, like *Aurasika, Mudgala,* and *Rakṣovaha* are not found in the other lists and the *Critical Edition* may alter the spelling or replace them.

The names are generally arranged in no particular order, and hence are not of great value for our purposes. Yet the lists do show certain mental associations, just as the other lists have. Because of the arrangement in this section a number within parentheses is used here to indicate association; thus, (2) in the first list following suggests that the two preceding words, *Mathurā* and *Śūrasena* were associated; and (3) following *Aṅga, Vaṅga,* and *Kaliṅga* brings to the attention of the reader that these words are again associated.

Kṛṣṇa's Conquests[1] (List 13)

1 *Asura*; 2 king Kansa (Bhoja) of *Mathurā*; 3 *Śūrasena* (2); 4 *Gāndhāra*; (the following countries through Pauṇḍra were in the E:) 5 *Cedi*; 6 Daitya city called *Saubha*; 7 *Aṅga*; 8 *Vaṅga*; 9 *Kaliṅga* (3); 10 *Māgadha*; 11 *Kāśi*; 12 *Kośala* (2); 13 *Vātsya*; 14 *Gārgya* (2); 15 *Karūṣa*; 16 *Pauṇḍra*; 17 *Avanti*; 18 Southerners; 19 Mountaineers; 20 *Dāśeraka*; (the following countries, except for Cola and Pāṇḍya, were in the NW:) 21 *Kāśmīra*; 22 *Aurasika*; 23 *Piśāca*; 24 *Mudgala*; 25 *Kāmboja*; 26 *Vāṭadhāna*; 27 *Cola*; 28 *Pāṇḍya* (2); 29 *Trigarta*; 30 *Mālava* (2); 31 *Darada*; 32 *Khasa* (from various realms); 33 *Śaka*; 34 *Yavana* (2).

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on their own signs," i.e., on their knowledge of sign-language; and he adds: "*nānukta* stands in sandhi for *na-anukte* 'other people (do) not (understand) in the case of what is not expressed in language.' The vulgate reading is *nānuktam* (acc. sg.), which confirms my interpretation." But we have passed way beyond the intelligent people like the Magadhas and even past the Mlecchas, the lowest in the scale of comprehension to be specifically mentioned, and the author would hardly expect the very lowest in the scale to understand what was not said. Roy's translation of the last half line did not come from the text, but from his mind. He put down what he thought must have been meant—and I think correctly.

But the interpretation of the last half line is of no great importance for our purposes—the study of the degree of intelligibility of Sanskrit among various peoples of India. One will note that the first line does not give us any information regarding the ability of the Magadhas and Kosalas to understand Sanskrit. The Magadhas were famous for minstrelsy and dancing and were naturally adept at reading gestures expressing thought. And the passage only tells us that the Kośalas knew what they saw.

[1] VII. 11.

Karṇa's Conquests[1]

35 *Kāmboja*; 36 *Ambaṣṭha* (2); 37 *Videha*; 38 *Gāndharva*; 39 *Kirāta* (Videha and Kirāta associated); 40 *Utkala*; 41 *Mekala* (2); 42 *Pauṇḍra*; 43 *Kaliṅga*; 44 *Andhra* (2); 45 *Niṣāda*; 46 *Trigarta*; 47 *Bāhlika*.

Rāma Jāmadagnya's Conquests[2]

48 *Kāśmīra*; 49 *Darada* (2); 50 *Kunti*; 51 *Kṣudraka-Mālava*: 52 *Aṅga*; 53 *Vaṅga*; 54 *Kaliṅga* (3); 55 *Videha*; 56 *Tāmraliptaka* (2); 57 *Rakṣovaha*; 58 *Vītihotra*; 59 *Trigarta*; 60 *Mārtti-Kāvata* (2).

Followers of Duryodhana[3]

61 *Śaka*; 62 *Kāmboja* (2); 63 *Bāhlika*; 64 *Yavana*; 65 *Pārada* (2); 66 *Kulinda*; 67 *Taṅgaṇa* (2); 68 *Ambaṣṭha*; 69 *Piśāca*; 70 *Barbara*; 71 Mountaineers.

Kaurava Followers[4]

72 *Kekaya*; 73 *Vasāti*; 74 *Śālvaka* (2); 75 *Ambaṣṭha*; 76 *Trigarta* (2).

Kekaya Princes' Opponents[5]

77 *Kekaya*; 78 *Mālava*; 79 *Śālvaka*; 80 *Trigarta* (3).

To precede Karṇa, Kṛṣṇa said:[6]

81 *Draviḍa*; 82 *Kuntala*; 83 *Āndhra*; 84 *Tālacara* (2?); 85 *Cucupa*; 86 *Veṇupa* (Calcutta ed. *Reṇupa*).

Kaurava Supporters[7]

87 *Govāsa*; 88 *Dāsamiya*; 89 *Vasāti*; 90 Easterners; 91 *Vāṭadhāna*; 92 *Bhoja*; 93 *Tuṣāra*; 94 *Yavana*; 95 *Khasa*; 96 *Dārva*; 97 *Abhisāra*; 98 *Darada* (3); 99 *Śaka*; 100 *Kamatha*; 101 *Ramaṭha* (3); 102 *Taṅgaṇa*; 103 *Andhraka* (for *Andhaka*?); 104 *Pulinda* (for Kulinda?); 105 *Kirāta*; 106 Mleccha; 107 Mountaineers; 108 races of seaside.

Corresponding Greek Names

Since the corresponding Greek names have some bearing on deciding the location of peoples, they have been added. My experience has been

[1] VII. 4. For other lists of Karna's conquests, see above, p. 83ff. and 85 n. 1.
[2] VII. 70.
[3] VII. 121. This a regional group, for all countries are in the N.
[4] V. 29. All countries are in the NW.
[5] V. 56. Again all countries are in NW.
[6] V. 139. [7] VIII. 73.

that foreigners do not coin names indiscriminately, but generally stick as close to the pronunciation heard as the phonemes of their native language will permit, and I have protested against the rough identifications of place names which ignore this.[1] I have not been able to study the Greek transcription of Sanskrit *au fond* but the following is a summary from the data I have assembled, and is sufficient to show general regularity in transcription:

Greeks employed the same vowels when it had them (my data does not include examples of the Greek transcription of the Sanskrit guṇa vowels). The truth of this statement may be seen from the following examples.

Greek employed the same nonaspirated sonant stops: *G*āndhāra, Ptolemy *G*andarai; *D*aśārṇa, Periplus *D*osarene; Kṣu*d*raka, Arrian Oksu*d*rakai; Śa*b*ara, Ptolemy Sa*b*arai; etc.

The surd stops of suffixes were preserved in Greek: Śūdra, Greek Sudra*k*ai; Kṣudra*k*a, Arrian Oksudrá*k*ai; Puṣkalāva*t*ī, Arrian Peukaleo*t*es; and perhaps Irāva*t*ī, Arrian Hudraō*t*ēs.

Greek also preserved nonaspirated surd stops when initial, or when in a medial consonantal cluster with another surd phoneme (in examples only ṣ): *K*irāta, Ptolemy *K*irrhadai; *T*ośala, Ptolemy *T*osale; *P*āṇḍya, Ptolemy *P*andiones; *T*a*k*ṣaśila, Greek *T*á*k*sila; Va*k*ṣu, Greek Ó*k*sos.

But intervocalic surd nonaspirated stops in the stem were represented in Greek by the corresponding sonant: Bhāru*k*accha, Greek Baru*g*aza; Vasā*t*i, Arrian Ossa*d*ioi; Kirā*t*a, Ptolemy Kirrha*d*ai; Dakṣiṇā*p*atha, Periplus Dakhina*b*ades. Even intervocalic surd aspirated stops show a tendency toward sonancy in Greek transcription; see last example and Ma*th*urā, Ptolemy Mo*d*ura, but Arrian Mé*th*ora.

Greek had no aspirated sonant stop and substituted the corresponding unaspirated phoneme: Gān*dh*āra, Ptolemy Gan*d*arai, Strabo Gan*d*arites; Vin*dh*ya, Ptolemy Uin*d*ios; *Bh*ārukaccha, Greek *B*arugaza; Ā*bh*īra, Ptolemy A*b*ira; Candra*bh*āgā, Ptolemy Sanda*b*(ala) (λ by scribal error for γ).

Sanskrit possessed a number of other phonemes not found in Greek, and the Greeks substituted the nearest approximation.

Skr. *ṅ* became Gr. *n* (but pronounced *ṅ*): Ta*ṅ*gaṇa, Ptolemy Ta*n*kanoi.

Skr. *c* became Greek *s*: Prā*c*yaka, Ptolemy Pra*s*iakē; *C*andrabhāgā, Ptolemy *S*andab(ala).

Skr. cerebral became Greek dental: Amba*ṣṭ*ha, Ptolemy Amba*st*ai; Surā*ṣṭ*ra, Greek Sura*st*rene; Pā*ṇḍ*ya, Ptolemy Pa*nd*iones, Arrian Pa*nd*aíē; Taṅga*ṇ*a, Ptolemy Tanka*n*oi; Vak*ṣ*u, Greek Ok*s*os.

Skr. *ś* became Greek *s*: To*ś*ala, Ptolemy To*s*ale; *Ś*abara, Ptolemy *S*abarai; Da*ś*ārṇa, Periplus Do*s*arene; *Ś*ūdra, Greek *S*udrakai.

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[1] "Linguistics in History," *JAOS* 67, 296–305.

Skr. *y* became Gr. *i*: Pāṇḍ*y*a, Ptolemy Pand*i*ones; Vindh*y*a, Ptolemy Uind*i*os.

The most unexpected change is Skr. *va* represented by Gr. *o*: *Va*kṣu, Arrian *ó*ksos; *Va*sāti, Arrian *O*ssadioi; Māla*va*, Arrian Mall*o*i (as if from Mālva); Puṣkalā*va*tī, Arrian Peukale*o*tes.[1] That the *ṣ* of *uṣk* dropped in some dialect after affecting (umlauting?) the preceding vowel is indicated not only by Gr. *eu* $<$ *u* in the last form above, but also by Skr. *Turuṣka* (Kirfel, *Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 26), modern *Türk*.

The data is insufficient to account for the Greek transcription of all Sanskrit phonemes, but there are very few irregularities in that cited above, except for hellenized endings.

But the Greek names of the Panjāb rivers are quite irregular:

*S*indhu, Arrian, Ptolemy Indos. The initial has been lost.

*Vi*tas*t*ā, Arrian, *Hu*das*p*ēs. Only Skr. *-tas-* $>$ Gr. *-das-* is regular according to rules laid down above. Although Skr. *Vi-* = Gr. *Ui-* in *Vindhya*, Ptolemy *Uindios*, here it seems to be represented by Gr. *Hu-*; and Skr. *t* is represented once by Gr. *p*.

*Vip*āśā, Arrian *Huph*asis. Only *-aś-* $>$ Gr. *-as-* is regular. Again Skr. *Vi-* is represented by Gr. *Hu-*; and we also have Skr. *p* represented by Gr. *ph*.

*I*rāvatī, Arrian *Hu*draōtēs. Here we have Skr. *I-* represented by Gr. *Hud-*.

*Ś*atadru, Ptolemy *Z*adadros or Zarad(ros). Initial irregular.

The reading Bibas(is) in Ptolemy is what we should expect for Vipāśā according to the rules noted above, except for the Gr. *B* initial, as compared with Ptolemy's *U*indios for *V*indhya. One may suspect that the Gr. *p* of Hudaspēs originally arose by scribal error (π for τ).

But no amount of study of the original documents would probably remove all the irregularities in the Greek transcription of these Panjāb river names. For we saw above that the two branches of the Āryas differed in their names for these rivers, and even, to a lesser extent, the two branches of the Indo-Aryans, the vedic and epic.

When one finds irregularities in transcription equations it is sometimes due to the fact that the transcription is not of the language that the investigator assumed, but through an intermediate language, or from the original source. Since the Panjāb was in early times mostly occupied by western Ānavas, we may infer that the considerable diversity in the river names was due to each invader taking the names from the first tribe he came in contact with.

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[1] Prakrit *Pukkalāoti* (Raychaudhuri, 5th ed.). But I am not sure that a Prakrit shift accounts for all the Greek forms; for the transcription of Lukian (Lycian) *wa* by Greek *o*, see Shafer, "Greek Transcription of Lukian," *Jahrbuch f. kleinasiatische Forschung* 2 (1951), 5.

Arrangement of Index

In the following index are included all geographical names of the appendix which seemed to this writer to have any possibility of being correct, the forms chosen by the editors for the text of geographical parts of the *Critical Edition*, parallel forms cited here from other Sanskrit literature, and modern names believed to aid in the identification of the geographical names of the epic. For some names there can only be minor doubts as to the spelling, as *Kośala* or Kosala, Śibi or Sivi. But where there was any doubt as to spelling, the aim has been to err toward liberality in citing possible alternatives in the index. Of course, only one form for each name can usually be correct, and only a comparatively few of the total number in the index, so it seems hardly necessary to add that the appearance of a form in the index is no indication that it was ever actually current.

Additional data that did not appear in the text of this work or in the appendix is given here *sub voce*. The aim has also been to make the index a summary on ethnic or linguistic conclusions for each nation or tribe.

The index is arranged in alphabetical order; and so the placing of one of the alternative forms ahead of another does not express preference for the first form.

Some words are listed under the simplest form, not under the vṛddhi derivative; thus, *Videha* instead of *Vaideha*, *Koṅkaṇa* instead of *Kauṅkaṇa*, *Puṇḍra* instead of *Pauṇḍra*.

If a form is not found with the long vowel expected, try that with the corresponding short.

The suffix *-ka* has sometimes been omitted in the index.

INDEX TO APPENDIX

Aṅga, 1.59, 86; 2.4, 112; 3.55, 69; 4.148; 10.8; 13.7, 52. In SE in Bṛhat. Capital Mālinī, later called Campā or Campāvatī. The king was called Mleccha. E Anava.

Aṅgataka, 4.53.

Āṭavī, 2.184. The same as *Kīṭakāṭavī*?

Aṭavī-, *Aṭṭavi-śabara*, *-śikhara*, *-śivira*, 1.75. By location, Bhil. Niṣādic.

Atidāya, 1.193.

Atīsāra, 1.119.

Adhirāja, *-rājya* 1.46; 2.128.

Ani(ṁ)dāya, 1.193.

Anūpaka, *-ga*, 4.6. "Situated near the water."

Anupāvṛtta, *-vṛṣ*, 1.78.

Antacāra, 1.220.

Andhaka (?), 13.103. Yādava.

Āndhra(ka), 1.85, 163; 2.180; 3.74; 13.44, 83, 103? Pliny *Andarae*. Capital Andhrapura on Telavāha River (probably modern Tel or Telingiri). Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); sinful people in S (Mbh. XII. 207); foreign in Jain literature. *Andhra* is another name for *Telugu*.

Aparānta, *-dra*, *-dhra*, 1.71. If a corruption of *Aparnoi* with Parthian *(*Aparāntha)*, then E Iranic; see H. W. Bailey, "Asica," *Trans. Philolog. Soc.* (1945), p. 3.

Apy-eka-pṛṣṭha, *-vṛṣya*, *-dhṛṣya*, 1.24.

Abhisāra, *-i*, 1.119; 2.63; 13.97. "Companion; attack; meeting." Ally of Paurava against Alexander; Indic dialect spoken today. Aryan?

Abhīṣāha, 4.101, 140. Associated with *Śūrasena*, and probably Yādava.

Amara, 2.204.

Amara-kaṇṭaka, 1.85.

Ambaṣṭha, 2.194; 3.44; 4.107, 114, 146; 13.36, 68, 75. Ptolemy *Ambastai*; the *Abastanoi* of Arrian, with metathesis of the nasal. The Ambaṣṭhas were sons of a brāhman (i.e., white) man and a vaiśya (i.e., yellow) woman (Manu, x. 8), showing mixture with Aryans by Manu's time. W Ānava.

Ayodhya, 2.12. Mānava.

Arbuka, *-da*, 2.151.

Alaka, 1.42.

Alidāya, 1.193.

Alpiṣāya, *-eya*, 1.193.

Avanti, 1.35; 2.26, 141; 4.67, 85; 13.17. Capital Ujjayinī (Oujein). The Sāhityadarpaṇa mentions Avantikā, the language of the Avanti; and I have found no satisfactory Sanskrit etymology for Avanti (or the neighboring *Kunti*).[1] The Avantis were descended from brāhman vrātyas (Manu, x. 21), i.e., Iranians who did not follow the Indo-Aryan religion. Haihaya.

Aśmaka, 1.42. Capital Paudanya. Mānava.

Aśmakata, *-bha*, 1.124.

Aśvakālanata, 1.124; 4.53.

Aśvakūṭa, 1.10.

Aśvakeśa, 4.53.

Aśvamukha, 2.66; 4.53.

Aśvamedheśvara, 2.81a.

Aśvātaka, 4.53.

Asura, 13.1.

Asmāka, 4.53.

Ahi-kṣatra, *-cchatra*, 2.13.

Āgreya, 2.34. W Ānava.

Ājāneya, 7.1. W Ānava.

Ātreya, 1.223; 4.37. Brāhman line.

Ādidāya, *-eya*, 1.193.

Ādi-rājya, *-rāṣṭra*, 1.46.

Ānarta, 1.101; 2.27, 45. On right hind foot in the following order, taking the NW contries on which the Mārk. and Bṛhat. agree:[2] *Kāmboja*, *Pahlava*, *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, *Ānarta*, *Sūdra*, *Sindhu-Kālaka*, *Saurāṣṭra*. From Pahlava the route is southerly. I take *Sindhu-Kālaka* to be the same as *Kālatoyaka*. According to this tortoise geography, *Ānarta* occurs N of the Śūdra kings of the seacoast (i.e., *Sāmudra-Niṣkuṭa*). And Burgess noted that Ānarta was situated between the sea and Anūpa, which Ānarta annexed, but which was also spoken of as dependent on the king of Sindh (*Antiquities of Kathiawar and Katch*). Capital Kuśasthalī, later Dvārakā or Dvāravatī, the last about 100 miles from the sea (Hariv., 116). But in the Mahābhārata, the Vṛṣṇis were living at Dvārakā when they were commanded to make a journey to the seacoast; they moved to Prabhāsa on the seacoast; but the city of Dvāravatī was swallowed up by the ocean (Mbh., XVI. 2—6). This epic

[1] Édouard Paul Lucien Philipon, *Les peuples primitifs*, pp. 163, 249, and Hans Krahe, "Alteuropäische Flußnamen," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 3 (1952), p. 3, furnish an Indo-European etymology for the Indian river name *Avantī*, but Krahe himself seems somewhat skeptical of the etymology because of the rarity of the formation in Sanskrit (idem, p. 162).

[2] Except that the Bṛhatsaṁhitā reverses the first two.

account would place Dvārakā inland, but not so far that it could not be swallowed up by the ocean. But if Dvārakā was swallowed up by the ocean it could not be the present Dwārka in Kathiawar (Saurastra). While the city was being engulfed, the widows of Vṛṣṇi heroes were loaded into cars drawn by bullocks, mules, and camels, and the remains of the population started for Indraprastha; but the migrants were attacked by the Ābhīras, who carried off many of the Vṛṣṇi women. Scholars have generally held that survivors ascended the Indus and its tributaries, and this would seem a necessary conclusion if the Vṛṣṇis were attacked by the Ābhīras. If Dvārakā were present Dwārka, this would have entailed a trip of about 500 miles around the Gulf and Rann of Cutch, which must have been something of a hardship in bullock and mule carts, but nothing in the account suggests such a circuitous route. Since Ānarta was originally Mānava, that is, its inhabitants belonged to the oldest race in India, it would denote that it formed part of the old Indus civilization. And visits between the rulers of Ānarta and the Pāṇḍavas occurred frequently enough to indicate that they were not separated by great distance or insuperable obstacles. Kṛṣṇa was brought up from infancy in the house of an Ābhīra cowherd, and this, together with the Ābhīras' attack on the Vṛṣṇi migrants, would suggest that Ānarta was close to the Ābhīra country. In fact all the above considerations would make me place Ānarta on the map at or near the site of Mohenjo-daro, except for the tale of the submerging of the city by the ocean. The position assigned Ānarta on the map is the result of a tentative but untenable compromise between the conflicting data. In 1.101 Ānarta seems to be in the SW, but in 2.45 way in the NW, typical of the general confusion regarding the Yādavas. Early Mānava, later Yādava, with Vṛṣṇi, Dāśārha, Andhaka, Bhoja, and Kukura clans.

Ābhīra, 1.69, 215; 2.202; 3.4? Ptolemy *Abira*. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya wrote that the Abhirs or Ahirs form a cowherd caste exceeding 8,000,000, and that they are found almost everywhere in India N of the Narmadā (*Hindu Castes and Sects* [Calcutta, 1896], p. 297). Their position was much more restricted in epic times. The Ābhīras were considered foreign in the purāṇas (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp.2, 3). Manu said the Ābhīras were the sons of a brāhman (i.e., white) man and an Ambaṣṭha woman (x. 15), and Ambaṣṭhas (q.v.) were a mixture of white and yellow. The Ābhīras are called Mleccha (Mbh. XVI. 7.63). Their kings were regarded as vrātya (Iranian?) and mostly śūdras (black) (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 54, 55). *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (par. 41) seems to call the Ābhīras men of tall stature and black complexion. The above considerations lead to the conclusion that the Ābhīras were W Ānavas, with a

great admixture of white (Iranian?) blood, and perhaps enough Bhil blood to give them a very dark color.[1]

Āmra, 1.85.

Āraṭṭa, 6.4.

Ārāvika, *Ārecaka*, *-vaka*, *Ārocaka*, 4.37.

Āvaśīra, 2.11.

Itika, *Ījaka*, *-ika*, 1.109.

Uḍra, 1.148; 3.71. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). Mundic.

Uḍra-Kerala, 2.179. Telugu. Malid or Indid?

Uḍra-Mallika, 2.179.

Uṇḍra, 1.148. See *Uḍra*.

Utkala, 1.21; 13.40. Capital Chauduār, opposite Katak. *Utkala* is another name for Orissa, and *Utkalī* for Oṛiyā. In E (Bṛ.). Mundic.

Uttama, 1.18. "Highest, best." On Vindhya range (pur.). From the meaning and general location, I would place them in the Mahadeo Hills, hence Goṇḍī.

Uttara-Jyotika, *-ṣa*, 2.205.

Utsavasaṅketa, 1.173; 2.58, 70a, 199; 3.12. Niṣādic.

Udāvṛtta, 1.78.

Udbhida, 1.163.

Unadra, 1.157.

Upāvṛtta, 1.77, 78.

Upāvṛṣ, 1.78.

Uraga, *Uruga*, *Uruja*, 1.127; 2.64? Cf. Urgo, town in Mṅa-ris bskor gsum (Nari Khorsum), Tibet.

Ulūka, 2.50, 56.

Ulūta, 1.120; 2.50, 56, 64.

Ullāṭa, 2.90.

Uśīnara, Cr. Ed. VIII. 4.46, Roy VIII. 5. Capital Bhojanagara. The ending *-ra* in *Uśīnara*, the name of the capital, and *-kanthā* occurring in Uśīnara place names (cf. Śaka *-kantha*) all indicate Yādava. But Ānava, according to Dikshitar, 33.

Uṣṭrakarṇika, 2.183. Telugu by position.

Uṣṭramallika, 2.179.

Urdhvakarṇa, 2.183.

Ekapāda, 2.173a.

Ekapṛṣṭha, 1.24.

Ekāṅgana, *Ekādana*, *Ekāśana*, *-sana*, 3.19.

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[1] Cf. the Chanhu-daro skull, which was proto-Mediterranean in type, with negroid traits, and Eastern Asiatic in its broad, flat face, broad forehead, and possibly its broad nose. (Ernest J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations 1935—36* [Amer. Or. Soc., New Haven, 1943], 258—259).

Oḍra, 3.8? "China rose." Modern *Auḍri* is another name for Oṛiyā. Sinful creatures in S (*Cr. Ed.* XII. 200. 39, Roy XII. 207). Foreign in Jain literature. Mundic.
Oṇḍra, 1.148. See *Oḍra* and *Uḍra*.
Opaka, *-ga*, 1.226. A tribe of Kirātas?
Oṣṭra, 1.148.
Oṣṭhakarṇaka, 2.183.

Audumbara, 3.31. *Odu(ṁ)bara* on coin legends. Capital Pratiṣṭhāna (Paṭhānkot on the Ravi in upper Panjāb). In C (Mārk., Bṛ.). A division of the Śālva (Jean Przyluski, *JA* 1929, p. 314), hence Yādava.
Aurasika, 13.22. In Hazara (i.e., ancient Abhisāra), according to Grierson, "Paiśācī," p. 68, without explanation.

Kakṣa, 1.83, 139, 140.
Kaṅka, 3.15. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). *Kaṅka* a Tibeto-Burmic word sanskritized from **Kaṅ* > **Kaṅga* > *Kaṅka*" heron, some bird of prey." If not TB (by appearance of name), then Buruśaski (by geographical position).
-Kaṅkaṇa, 1.110.
Kaccha, 1.139, 140.
Kacchī, 1.83.
Kajiṅga, 1.227. A Kirāta tribe; East Himalayish.
Kadarthika, 1.123.
Kanaka, 1.170.
Kanī-ḍaka, *-taka*, *-naka*, 1.45.
-Kandhara, 1.224.
Kanyakāguṇa, *-gaṇa*, 1.110.
Kābhīra, 1.69.
Kamatha, 13.100. W Ānava? Mongoloid.
Kampa, 3.15.
Karaka, 1.170, 188.
Karakañjaka, *Karakandaka*. 1.231.
Karakāmbojaka, 1.231.
Karaja, 1.188.
Karaḍḍha, 1.188.
Karaṇṭa, *-ṭha*, *-ḍa*, 1.187.
Karatañjaka, 1.231.
Karada, 1.188.
Karanda, 1.187.
Karabhañjaka, *-bhojaka*, *-sañjaka*, 1.231.
Karahā-kaṭa, *-kaḍa*, *-ṭaka*, 2.176. Kanarese?
Karūṣa, 1.15; 4.73, 79; 13.15. On Vindhya range, according to purāṇas. The Karūṣas were descended from vaiśya vrātyas (Manu, x. 23); this is not improbable if the Tibeto-Burmans once occupied the

Ganges valley at least that far west. Mānava, late Vāsava; Tibeto-Burmic (Mongoloid) base.

Karkakhaṇḍa, 2.10. Mānava?

Karkaṭa, 2.196.

Karkoṭaka, 5.5. On left side, and immediately preceding *Bhṛgu-kaccha*[1] (modern Broach) and *Koṅkaṇa*. Haihaya king Arjuna Kārtavīrya captured Māhiṣmatī from Karkoṭaka Nagas, according to Pargiter. The king of Māhiṣmatī had troops called Nīlāyudha "black unconquered" (Mbh. V. 18) which are probably the same as the Kālamukha. Probably Niṣādic (Bhil) by race, but perhaps Kūrkū by language, and with some Kūrkū blood.

Karṇaṭa, 1.102, 157. Yaśodhara's commentary defines Mahārāṣṭra as between the Narmadā and Karṇaṭa, and Draviḍa as S of Karṇaṭa (Kirfel, 80). Kanarese. Indid.

Karṇaprāvaraṇa, 2.167; 4.47. Probably on Vindhya range. Nahālī (Bhilla), by position. Niṣādic.

Karṇika, 1.161.

Karpaṭa, 2.196.

Karvaṭa, 2.121. E Anava.

Kaliṅga, 1.61, 159, 227?; 2.6, 182; 3.57, 61; 4.71, 92, 132, 158; 5.3; 10.9; 13.9, 43, 54. Capitals Saptagrāma (Sātgōan, Bengal; conjecture), Rājapura, Dantakura. *Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅga* occurs so frequently in the Mahābhārata that it must indicate a close geographical as well as racial association in the minds of the Aryans, and not the separation of Kaliṅga by some 300 miles from Vaṅga, as it has generally been represented in the past. The occurences of *Kaliṅga* in the Mbh. lead to the conclusion that early Kaliṅga did not extend SW of Oḍra (Orissa) except in scattered settlements along the coast. This inference is confirmed by Yaśodhara's commentary which defined Kaliṅga as lying E of the Mahānadī (Kirfel 80). The Greek and Roman evidence led F. J. Monahan to a similar conclusion:[2] "The Sanskrit name Kaliṅga was applied, it appears, in ancient times, to the greater part of the eastern coast region of the Indian peninsula, from the Ganges southward. Later, it took a more restricted sense, covering, roughly, Orissa, . . ." He reached this conclusion on the basis that "Gangarides-Calingae" must have been applied by the Greeks because the peoples of the Ganges area were similar in language and culture to the Kaliṅgas, noting that Vivien de Saint-Martin took the Gangarides-Calingae, the Maccocalingae, and the Modogalingae (on an island in the Ganges) to be branches of the Calingae.

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[1] Mārk. elsewhere *Bhīrukaccha*, Bṛhat., Matsyap. *Bharukaccha*, Greek *Barugaza*.

[2] *The Early History of Bengal* (Oxford University Press, 1925), 17–18.

Later, when the digvijayas reached their present form, Kaliṅga probably designated only the Telugu coast SW of the Mahānada, but retained its Tibeto-Burmic name given it by earlier Tibeto-Burmic colonists, since absorbed in the Dravidian population. The Telingana of a later period seems to have started further south and to have spread over a large part of the former Kaliṅga (of the Telugus); see Davies, *Atlas*, maps on pp. 35, 37. It would thus have nothing to do originally with Kaliṅga.[1] E Ānava.

Kalītaka, 1.45.

Kalūta, 1.120.

Kalkala, 1.182.

Kaṣṭaka, 1.187.

Kahīsaka, 1.133.

Kahva, 3.15.

Kāka, 1.199; 3.15. "Crow" (totemic?).

Kākuvṛkṣa, 1.165.

Kākṣa, 1.83.

-*Kāgaṇa*, -*Kāguṇa*, 1.110.

Kācchīka, 1.83.

Kānana, *Kānīna*, 4.73.

Kāntāraka, 2.144.

Kāntīka, 1.199.

Kāpiṅgala, 1.227.

Kāmboja, 1.206, 215; 2.70, 72; 3.15?; 4.68, 99; 7.5; 13.25, 35. Capital said to be Rājapura (modern Rajaori, SE of Punch). On right hind foot and in SW (i.e., NW). Sinful people in N (Mbh. XII. 207); low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). The Nirukta, text of about 500 B.C., said speech of Kāmbojas differed from ordinary Indian speech; it was Iranic, according to Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 9, pt. 4, p. 3, n. 9.

Kāyavya, 3.26.

Kāraskāra, 5.1. Purāṇas place it S of Narmadā, and on W border. NLD suggested Kārakal in S Kanara. Baudhāyana, Dharmasūtra I. 1.33, said one who has visited Kāraskaras shall offer a punastoma or sarvapṛṣṭhi; bondsmen in palace of Yudhiṣṭhira (*Cr. Ed.* II. 46.21, Roy II. 50). Since in 5.1 *Kāraskāra* leads list of three following Dravidian names, the Kāraskāras were probably Dravidian, and, if NLD's identification is correct, Malayālam.

[1] Otherwise one might assume the original Tibeto-Burmic form to have been **Tliṅ*, which could have given rise to *Kaliṅga* and *Teliṅga*-. For Kukish *tl* sounds like *kl* to some modern transcribers. And the Assamese called the *Meithlei of Manipur *Mĕklē*, and the Bengalis called them *Moglai* (< **Măklai*?), these words going back to the period before the present Meithei language lost the *l* of **thl*, **tl*.

Kālakūṭa, 2.46.
Kālagiri, 2.169.
Kālatoyaka, 1.70.
Kālada, 1.186.
Kālamukha, 2.168. See *Karkoṭaka* above.
Kālava, 1.186.
Kālītaka, 2.162.
Kāśi, 1.13, 29, 30; 2.91; 4.31, 78; 10.7; 13.11. Capital Vārāṇasī (present Benares). Āyava.
Kāśmīra, 1.115, 217; 2.59; 3.35, 95; 13.21, 48. Dardic.
Kitava, 3.4; 4.111. The *Kathroi* of Arrian by corruption of the alternative form *Kṛtava*? The purāṇas held the Kaivartas to be foreigners (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3); was this a corruption of *Kitava* or *Kṛtava*? From association in text with Sauvīras (see 4.111 and following), probably W Ānava.
Kimpuruṣa, 2.74.
Kirāta, 1.10, 95, 143, 228; 2.49, 108, 212; 3.82?; 4.7, 123; 13.39, 105. Ptolemy *Kirrhadai*. Only in the army lists and in lists without any attempt at grouping are the Kirātas associated with peoples of the NW. In the Geography and the digvijayas, where the Kirātas may be more definitely located, they are always associated with Videha, Puṇḍra, Suhma, Tāmraliptaka, i.e., the eastern countries. The Kirātas were considered to be at the extreme east of the northern boundary of Bhārata, as the Yavanas were at the west (Mārk. 57). On the side of the Himavat (Brahmāṇḍap., 69), and in the NE (Mārk., Bṛhat.). They were low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65), and sinful people in N (Mbh. XII. 207). That the Kirātas were Mongoloid by race is shown by their description in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa as "golden" in appearance; see Chatterji, p. 20. That they spoke a Tibeto-Burmic language is shown by the names of their kings, such as *Ya-lam-ba*, *Ba-lam-ba*, *Luk*, *Thor*, *Thuṅ-ka*, *Suṅ-gu*, *Khim-bu* (cf. the modern East Himalayish clan name *Kham-bu*), etc. (see Chatterji, p. 38, or Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, pp. 78—79). Geographically, racially, and linguistically the ancientKirātas may be identified with the Kirantis in the easternmost province of Nepal, i.e., linguistically the East Himalayish section of Sino-Tibetan.[1] The Kirātas had a number of tribes; and although East Himalayish has two main branches linguistically, each branch has somewhat divergent languages or dialects, and the stock is somewhat scattered geographically. The Sunwars are an outlying clan of the western branch, which Sten Konow misclassified in the *Linguistic Survey*; the Limbus speak a somewhat divergent dialect of the eastern branch. The

[1] Shafer, "East Himalayish", *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 356—374.

Limbus have two clans, said to be of Kāśi and of Lhasa. By the Limbu tradition, there were ten brothers born in Benares, who divided into two groups, one going directly to Nepal, the other by way of Tibet (Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 222). From our observations regarding the Tibeto-Burmic occupation of the Ganges Valley (see pp. 13—15), this tradition does not seem improbable. For later extension of the use of the term *Kirāta* see Rönnow, especially pp.97ff., and Chatterji, p. 18. Chatterji's further extension of the term to be an equivalent for Indo-Mongoloid was unfortunate. Mongoloid.

Kisaṣṇa, 1.10.

Kiṣkindha, 1.17; 2.156. The Kiṣkindhas were far north of where Dey placed them, as both the associations in the Mbh. and pur. show. They were on the right fore ("SE") foot and the Vindhya range (Mārk., Br.).[1] By race the pre-Dravida of G. S. Ghurye (*Race and Caste in India*, [New York, 1932], pp. 116ff.). In language Kolami, by position.

Kīkaṭa, *Kīkaṭāṭavī*, 5.4.

Kīcaka, *Cr. Ed.* I. 144.2; Roy I. 156. The Pāṇḍavas went from forest to forest, seeing on the way the countries of the Matsyas, Trigartas, Pāñcālas, and Kīcakas. That is, the Pāṇḍavas were passing through the Himalayas, and saw these countries in succession; so Kīcaka was not in the neighborhood of Matsya, Trigarta, and Pañcāla, as stated by Pargiter (*Mārk.*) and J. Gonda (*Het Oud Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 5, p. 314), but only of Pañcāla. *Kīcaka* on left forefoot, i.e., in NE; therefore the people of the kīcaka bamboo country, near Meru.

Kīṭakāṭavī, *Kīṭakādhavī*, 5.4. See *Āṭavī*. Probably Dravidian or Mundic.

Kukara, 1.188.

Kukuṭa, 1.186.

Kukura, 1.32; 3.45, 53; 4.36. "Dog" (totemic?). In C in Bṛhat. But that was the Kukuras associated with the Vṛṣṇis along the Yamunā, and some at least of the Kukuras probably fled to Ānarta; and some appear in the E in the epic. Yādava.

Kukuraṅga, *Kukurāṅgāda*, *-gāra*, 1.171.

Kukkuṭa, 1.84, 186.

Kukkura, 3.53; 4.36. See *Kukura*.

Kukkuśa, 1.32.

Kukṣi, 2.90.

-Kuṅkuṭa, 1.84.

Kuṭṭāparānta, 1.81.

Kuḍaya, 1.161.

Kuṇa, 1.210.

[1] See also M. V. Kibe, "Further Light on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā . . . from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa," *ABORI* 17 (1935—1936), 371—384.

Kuṇaṭa, 1.105.
Kuṇinda, 1.185; 2.44; 3.23.
Kuṇḍamāṇa, 3.36.
Kuṇḍī-viṣa, *-vṛṣa*, 4.16, 76. (*viṣa* "servant"). Mundic people living in Puṇḍra.
Kutūla, 1.209.
Kutūhaka, *-la*, 1.165.
Kudruta, 1.120.
Kuntala, 1.12, 105, 120, 162, 209; 4.26, 42; 13.82. "A particular type of headdress." There was a Kuntala in the N and in the S; because of the meaning of the term, there may have been no racial or historical connection between the two. Following remarks apply only to the southern country: Capital Kalyānapura (Kalyāṇa, 36 miles W of Bidar in Nizam's territory). Dravidian, probably Kanarese-Telugu; but northern part perhaps Bhilla at base. Indid.
Kunti, 1.34, 36; 2.137; 8.9; 13.50. Haihaya.
Kuntika, 1.162, 199.
Kuntipaya, *Kunttīviṣa*, 4,16.
Kundamāna, 3.36.
Kundāparānta, 1.81. Bhil by position; see Constable's racial map. Niṣādic.
Kubjika, 1.162.
Kumāra, 2.84, 135. If not the same as Vatsa, probably close to it.
Kumūla, 1.209.
Kumbharsa, *Kumbhasa*, 4.26.
Kuraka, 1.188.
Kuraṭa, *-ṭha*, 1.188.
Kuru, 1.1, 142; 2.77; 10.1; 11.1; 12.2. Capital Hastināpura; later capital of Kurukṣetra was Āsandīvat (MRK, p. 42), or Āsandīvat was another name for Hastināpura (Pusalker). By Manu's time thought of as a country of the Brahmarṣis, hence decidedly Aryan or Aryanized; see p. 29ff.
Kurūṣa, 1.15. See *Karūṣa*.
Kurkaṭa, *-kuṭa*, 1.32.
Kurbura, 4.26.
Kulaka, 1.186.
Kulaṭa, *-ṭya*, *-ttha*, *-ntra*, 1.209. W Ānava. Mongoloid.
Kulinda, 1.6, 134, 185, 209; 2.44, 82?, 84?; 3.23; 4.87; 8.8; 13.66, 104. Ptolemy *Kulindrine*. Capital Kārtikeyapura (present Baijnath). Kulindas lived in the Himalayas (Mbh. VIII. 85). West Himalayish. Mongoloid.
Kulīya, 1.193.
Kulūta, 1.120; 2.50, 56, 64. In NW (i.e., far NW) in Bṛhat. *Kulūta* on coin.

Kulya, 1.11.
Kuśāṭṭa, *Kuśanṭṭa*, *Kuśaṇḍa*, *Kuśādya*, *Kuśanda*, 1.10, 47. Capital of *Kusaṭṭha* was Saurika or Serīpura (Kirfel 226).
Kuśabindu, 1.138.
Kuśala, 1.106. A district in Śālmaladvīpa or Krauñcadvīpa (Kirfel 125, 124), and Krauñcadvīpa on right side and in the S, between Cola and the River Kāverī in the texts (Mārk., Bṛ.).
Kuśalya, 1.10.
Kusaṭṭa, 1.10.
Kusṛta, 1.120.
Kṛtava, 3.4.
Kṛmi, 9.4.
Kekaya, 1.80; 3.43, 94; 4.30, 62, 109, 121, 147; 13.72, 77. Capital Girivraja (present Girjāk or Jalalpur on Jhelum R.) or Rājagṛha. On left side and in N. W Ānava.
Keśin, see *Pāñcāla*.
Kerala, 1.153; 2.23, 179; 3.53?; 5.4. Capital Vañji (near Cochin). Malayālam, Toda, and Kota (Dravidian). Ruling class Indid, others Malid?
Kerīta, 1.102.
Kevala, 1.49; 2.15, 174; 3.53. Baigas?
Kaiśika, (Cr. Ed. II. 13.20: Roy II. 14). King Bhīṣmaka of Kaiśika clan ruled S Vidarbha (Hariv. 117); capital Bhojakaṭa. Founded Cedi line (Pusalker, 284). Yādava.
Koka, 1.199.
Kokaṅkaṇa, 2.63.
Kokaṇa, 1.110, 167.
Kokanaka, *-kha*, *Kokaraka*, 1.177.
Kokanada, 2.63.
Kokuṭṭaka, *Kokuḍḍhaka*, *Kaukudaka*, etc., 1.165.
Koṅkaṇa, 1.110, 161, 167. On left side and in S. Koṅkaṇaka foreign in Jain literature; hence Kanarese and Tulu (Dravidian), rather than modern Konkanī dialect of Indic. Lowlanders Indid, mountaineers Malid.
Koṅkanada, 2.63.
Koḍagu, 1.165.
Kota, 1.165.
Kota-naka, *-laka*, *Kontanaka*, 2.63.
Kopaka, *-na*, *-ra*, *-śa*, 1.170.
Kopuraka, 1.177.
Koruka, *Korūṣaka*, 1.177.
Kola-, *Kolla-giri*, 2.169. *Kolagira* (people) on right side, and *Kollagiri* in S, between *Nāsikya* and *Cola* in texts. Both texts place next to *Cola*; and the Bṛhat. also next to *Nāsikya*, while several places

intervene between *Kollagira* and *Nāsikya* in the tortoise geography. If the position in the text can be relied upon, the question arises how far N and W the kingdom of Cola extended when *Kollagiri* and *Kolagira* were given these positions in the texts.

Kośala, 1.13; 2.20, 85, 87, 143, 145; 4.56, 94, 154; 8.12; 10.6; 12.1; 13.12. Early capital Ayodhyā (Ajodhya or Oudh), then Sāketa. N Kośala capital Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet in Oudh); S Kośala, *Kuśāvatī* or *Kuśasthalī* (Sultanpur on the Gumti in Oudh). Mānava

Kośika, see *Kauśika*.

Kosala, 4.65. See *Kośala*.

Koṣṭa, 1.178.

Kauravya, 1.129.

Kauśika, *-ja*, *Kośika*, 1.23; 2.159; 3.65. Family of priests to Bhāratas (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 174).

Kauśikī-kaccha, 2.116.

Kaulika, 1.161.

Kratha, *Cr. Ed.* II. 13. 20, Roy II. 14: *Kratha-Kaiśika* (so N_1V_1B (exc. B_3) Dn D). Must have ruled N Vidarbha, since Bhīṣmaka of Kaiśika clan ruled S Vidarbha (Hariv. 117). Same as Bhīma clan (main line) (Pusalker, 284). Yādava.

Krandamāna, 3.36.

Kravyāda, 3.26. *Kravyāda* "eaters of raw flesh" was applied in the vedas and later times to the Piśācas (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 533).

Krivi, see *Pāñcāla*.

Kruṇḍamāṇa, 3.36.

Krūra, 1.203. "Cruel, fierce, pitiless;" cf. Tibetan *Blo-bkra*, *-dkar*, *-nag*, applied to the people between Dwags in Tibet and the Abor country in Assam. The Tibetans recognized them only as semihuman cannibals to whom they sent criminals to be eaten (F. W. Thomas, *Nam*, p. 15 and map at end of volume). I doubt, however, that the epic Indo-Aryans even got reports about the peoples of Assam.

Krauñjara, 3.53.

Kṣudraka-Mālava, 3.51; 4.59, 89; 13.51. Ptolemy, Arrian *Oksudrakai*. Were these "dwarf" Mālavas the Bhils who later settled in Malwa and gave it its name?

Kṣudrābhīra, 1.215.

Khaśa, 3.18. See *Khasa*.

Khaśika, *Khāṣika*, *Kheṣika*, 1.219. Khāsika foreign in Jain literature.

Khasa, 3.18; 4.58; 6.5; 13.32, 95. Khasas were descended from kṣatriya vrātyas (Manu, x. 22); foreign in Jain literature. Foothill Indic in language (Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 9, pt. 4, introduction).

Khāṇḍavaprastha, follows 2.187.

Garga, 2.98. See *Gārgya*.
Gaṇḍaka, 2.79.
Gandharva, 2.76; 13.38.
Gaya, 3.59. Inhabitants of Gayā. Early Mānava, middle Āmāvasava (Kānyakubja line), late Vāsava; Mundic stock.
Gādha, 1.26.
Gāndhāra, 1.117; 4.48, 52, 112; 6.3; 13.4. Ptolemy *Gandarai*, Strabo *Gandarites*. Capitals Takṣaśilā (immediately N and NE of Sarai-kala, a railway junction 20 miles NW of Rāwalpindī) and Puśkalāvatī (modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles NE of Peshāwar on Swat River). Sinful people in N (Mbh. XII. 207); low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). Dardic.
Gārgya, 13.14. Kṣatriyan brāhmans; Paurava. But error for *Garga*?
Giri-kandhara, *-gandhaka*, *-gahvara*, 1.222. Dardic.
Guha, Cr. Ed. XII. 200.39, Roy XII. 207, in list of "sinful people" in S, between *Andhraka* and *Pulinda*. Kui (Dravidian).
Guhyaka, 2.41.
Godha, 1.26.
Goparāṣṭra, 1.44. Niṣādic.
Gopāla-ka, *-kakṣa*, *-kaccha*, *-katsa*, 1.140; 2.86. At a later period the Gopāla dynasty in Nepal had its capital at Mātātīrtha, SW of the Great Valley between Kirtipur and Thankot; its kings bore Sanskrit names.
Gomanta, 1.37.
Govāsa, *-vāsana*, 13.87. „cowhide garments."
Govinda, 1.37.
Gośṛṅga, 2.134.
Gramaka, 2.172.
Grāmaṇeya, 2.200. The grāmaṇī "village leader" was usually a vaiśya (Vedic Index, I, p. 204). W Ānava.
Ghora, *-ka*, 3.37. Ghoras on tail, but the Bṛhatsaṁhitā list for the W does not extend that far. We do not know whether the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa list was the original and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā eliminated the last part of the list for the W, or whether the last part of the list "on the tail" was a late and corrupt addition; but one may suspect the latter, since we find such fanciful names in the last part of the "tail" list as Ekekṣaṇas, Vājikeśas, Dīrghagrīvas, Aśvakeśas. In the Mahābhārata, *Ghoraka* occurs between *Kāśmīra* and *Śibi* with an unknown name on each side of it. If the Ghorakas lived near the Śibis it would not be far from the former home of the modern Gorkhas, believed to have been in Rājpūtana whence they were driven by the Mohamedans. They passed through the Kumaon hills and settled first near Pālpa, and then around the town of Gorkha, 40 miles W of Kāṭhmāṇḍū. Phonetically we find an apparent "shift" of

aspiration from the initial guttural sound to the last guttural consonant, from epic *Ghoraka* > *Gorakha*. This shift may have been due to Tibeto-Burmic influence; for Tibetan, for example, has no aspirated initial sonant stops but does have aspirated surds, so that *Gorakha* would be about as close to *Ghoraka* as Tibetans could come. This does not necessarily imply that the Gorkhas were Tibeto-Burmans. *Gorakha* could have come to India through intermediate Tibeto-Burman neighbors of the Gorkhas. The present spelling Gurkha is comparatively late. The older *Gorakha* occurs in *Gorakh-nath*, name of a temple of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, and in *Gorakh-pur*, name of a city in India, not far from the Nepal frontier.

Cakradhara, *Cakrāti*, *-vat*, 1.52.

Candravatsa, 9.15.

Camapa, *Cāmbupa*, 4.58.

Carcara, 1.144; 4.97.

Carcaka, 1.132.

Carmakhaṇḍika, *-raṅgākhya*, 1.74. If *khaṇḍika* originally had the same meaning as *khaṇḍaka*, then "Rendering a shield ineffective." The name can be Persian, Avestic, or Indic; see Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.* 47, fasc. 1 (1951), 41.

Carmala, *-ila*, 4.55.

Cānīkaṭa, 2.162.

Cicchira, *-la*, 4.97.

Cityapulaka, 1.180.

Citraka, 4.97. Bondsmen in palace of Yudhiṣṭhira (*Cr. Ed.* II. 46.21; Roy II. 50).

Citrula, 4.76.

Cintyavipula, 1.180.

-Cipulika, 1.180.

Cīna, 1.205, 213; 2.49; 3.6, 86; 9.8. Rangacharya (299) suggested that the Cīnas were the modern Śiṇā, who speak a Dardic language of the same name, an idea which had also occurred to me. I have not found any evidence, however, that Skr. *c* initial became *ś* in Śiṇā, but the materials available to me on the latter language are too limited for my search on the matter to be conclusive.

The Cīnas were low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65), where *Cīna* follows *Gāndhāra*. The Cīnas were thought of as foreign in Jain literature. Chatterji (p. 20) cites the Mahābhārata that both the Kirātas and the Cīnas appeared to be in gold, their troops looking like a forrest of karṇikāras (with yellow flowers). On the basis of this I have made *Cīna* Mongoloid on the map. Chatterji accepted the usual interpretation of *Cīna* as Chinese. Now, if Chinese appeared on the eastern frontier of early India we should not be greatly sur-

prised; but the epic Aryans knew practically nothing about the E or NE, and Cīna is always associated with the peoples of the N and NW, and always with the latter except in armies. In the purāṇas, the Cīnas, along with the Tuṣāras, Pahlavas, Kāmbojas, and Daradas were "outside," i. e., they were beyond the Himalayas on the upper Indus in Kashmir. And the Chinese do not seem to have been able to penetrate Tibet proper with military expeditions before seventh Century A.D. and Baltistan before the eighth century A.D.

Well, one may say, that just goes to show what a late document the Mahābhārata is. That would be too hasty a conclusion. If we take the maps in Davies' *Historical Atlas*, we may note that in map 9 for 640 A.D. appear the countries of Kamarupa, Samatata, Pundravardhana, Karnasuvarna, Valabhi, Chalukyas, etc., none of which occur in the epic lists; in map 8 for the close of the fourth century are some of those mentioned above and Arjunayanas, and Vakatakas. If the epic were so late, it would hardly be likely to omit reference to some of the most powerful kingdoms of the time.

But this is purely negative evidence. The Cīna were not powerful Chinese who invaded India, but a people forced to pay tribute. At the time of the epic the Cīnas were an "outside" people, together with the Pahlavas, Śakas, Tuṣāras (Tukhāras), and Yavanas. These "outside" people were no threat to India and in epic times I have found nothing in the epic to indicate that they ever had been—either the Persians, Greeks (Yavanas), Śakas, or "Tokharians." Moreover, most of the ethnic names we find in the Mahābhārata disappeared after the empire of Asoka, ca. 250 B.C., which is only natural since there was no further use for them in an empire, which he had inherited from his father, and the latter from his father. Local kingdoms of the epic period had had a long time to become forgotten before 250 B.C. So we must conclude that the geographical lists of the Great Epic, with its Kuru-Pañcāla, Cedi-Vatsa, etc., were composed sometime before 250 B.C.

Now the reason *Cīna* has been assumed to refer to the Chinese is because our word *China* has been assumed to come from the dynasty of the Tsʻin, 249—210 B.C. This looks phonetically plausible. But we have just seen that the Indo-Aryans had a not very powerful or respected people, the Cīna, just outside their borders at a time so early that the Chinese had not only not penetrated into Baltistan or even Tibet, but before even the Tsʻin dynasty had been established.

Outside of the Sanskrit sources we have supplementary evidence in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters,"[1] one of Sir Aurel Stein's finds,

[1] W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *BSOAS* 12 (1948), 601–615.

to show that Cīnas were in the upper Indus valley at a very early period. Because of the place of discovery it was only natural to suppose that *Cīna* referred to China. But there is a big difference between names which refer to places which are unmistakably Chinese, as *Ṣacū* and *Kamcū* in other Central Asian documents, and Henning's identifications of *Āḫumtān* (his *ᵃKhumdān*) with *γvm-ịaṅ*, *Kacān* with *Ku-tsaṅ*, *Saraγ* with *Lo-yaṅ*, and *Ankpa* with *n̂ịvp*, which are of the "faute de mieux" type. The reason Henning's "identifications" of the names of the Sogdian document with Chinese names are so impossible phonetically is because the document does not refer to China but to the upper Indus valley. The words in the document which establish this are Sogdian *Cyn (Cīna)*, exactly as in Sanskrit, and *Xwn (Ḥūna)*, as close to Skr. *Hūṇa* as the Sogdian alphabet would permit. Before noting *Cīna* in the Sogdian Ancient Letters, I had already placed (Hāra)-Hūṇa and Cīna as close together on the ethnic-linguistic map as space permitted, based on the evidence from the Mahābhārata.

Moreover, the Sogdian document contains a reference (l. 37) to Indians and Sogdians, and Indians and Sogdians were a great deal closer to the upper Indus valley than to Tun-huang.

In one passage there are "100 freemen from Samarkand," from which Henning deduces a total Sogdian population of 1000 persons in Tun-huang, and is surprised at the "unexpectedly great strength in the Sogdian Colonies in China" (p. 606, n. 9). And well he might be surprised if this were true, but the upper Indus is much closer to Sogdiana than China, and it is quite possible that the Sogdians had commercial relations with the region for centuries. Arrian mentioned a capital city Sogdia on the Indus, and a Sogdian inscription probably as late as Nestorian times has been found at Grang-rtse (Drang-tse) in Ladakh.[1]

The Sogdian word *'nkp'*, which Pelliot transcribed *Ang-pa*, certainly looks more Tibeto-Burmic than Chinese.

Sir Aurel Stein proposed A.D. 105 to 137, or in 153 as the date of the Ancient Letters. Henning thought between A.D. 105 and 400 on the basis of handwriting; his narrowing this to 311 A.D. or shortly after is based on his identification of Sogd. Srγ with Lo-yaṅ, which we have seen is invalid. Any of these dates would be before the Chinese appeared on the upper Indus.

In the letter the writer did not know whether the Cīnas were able to drive the Hūṇas out of Cīnastan. For the Sogdians to be partial to the Cīnas more than to the Hūṇas one might infer that the Cīnas

[1] F. W. K. Müller, "Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh," *SPAW* (1925), 371–372, and E. Benveniste, "L'inscription sogdienne de Ladakh," *BSOS* 9 (1937–1939), 502–505.

would more likely be Iranians, along with the neighboring Śakas and Kāmbojas. And my acceptance of the Cīnas as yellow and hence Mongoloid is only tentative, with the conflicting evidence presented. The Sogdians interest in the conflict may, however, have been only in the victory of the side with which the best commercial arrangements could be made.[1]

Cūcuka, sinful creatures in S (V [1516] $B_{0\cdot6-9}$ $Da_{3.a4}$ $D_{2.3.6.8}$ $M_{1.5-7}$ T $G_{1-3.6}$ in *Cr. Ed.* XII. 200. 40. Probaly in or near Mahānada valley.

Cŭcupa, 4.58; 13.85. Also Belvalkar form in *Cr. Ed.* XII. 200. 40; D_9 (1560) *Cacupa*, sinful creatures in S.

Cubuka, 4.97. Also in MS Dn_1 in *Cr. Ed.* XII. 200. 40, with K_6 *Śubuka.*

Cubupa, 4.58.

Culika, *-cchulika*, 1.180. Cūlika was foreign in Jain literature. Cūlikā Paiśācī was spoken by Sogdians according to Probodh Chandra Bagchi, "Śulika, Cūlika and Cūlikā-Paiśācī," *J. Dept. Let.* 21 (1931), 1—10.

Cedi, 1.14; 2.83; 4.32, 77; 9.13; 10.11; 13.5. On right forefoot and in SE. Capital Śuktimatī on river of same name (modern Ken), probably near present town Banda. Yādava, later Vāsava.

Copakṛta, *Copāvṛta*, 2.162.

Cora, 2.67.

Cola, 1.166; 2.67?; 3.72; 13.27. Capital Uraiyūr (Skr. Uragapura), present Old Trichinopoly. Tamil. Melanid.

Jakṛllomān, 1.62.

Jaṭhara, 1.31. "Hard, firm." On right forefoot in this order: *Kaliṅga*, *Vaṅga*, *Jaṭhara*, *Kosala*; and in SE in the sequence: *Kaliṅga*, *Vaṅga*, *Upa-Vaṅga*, *Jaṭhara*, *Aṅga*. Since the name has one of the cerebrals, which are characteristic of Mundic, but the *-ra* characteristic of Yādavas, as in *Kaukura*, *Udumbara*, *Bhadrakāra*, *Yugandhara*, one may tentatively class the Jaṭharas as yādavized Mundas or Yādavas with Mundic base.

Jalika, 1.161.

Jāguḍa, *Jāhuḍa*, 3.89.[2]

Jāṅgala, 1.4, 142.

Jillika, 1.161.

Jyotika, *-ṣa*, 2.205.

Jyoha, 3.19.

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[1] One may ask what was a letter reporting conditions in the upper Indus valley doing in Tun-huang? I do not know. One might equally well ask what would a letter reporting conditions in Tun-huang be doing in Tun-huang? Why was the letter not sent to Sogdiana?

[2] Identification with Jāgurī, the Arghand Ab valley in Afghanistan, made by A. Foucher, *La vielle route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Paris, 1947), is negated by Sanskrit evidence.

Jhillika, 1.161.

Taṅgaṇa, 1.200, 201; 3.24, 25, 93; 4.19, 20; 13.67, 102. Ptolemy *Tankanoi* (the short text also has *k*: *Ṭaṅkaṇa* in the NE). Mountainous (pur.). Probably a Himalayish branch of TB, now extinct or unrecorded, and closer to W Himalayish than WC Himalayish. Never strong, like Kirātas, and likely early aryanized; on both sides in Great Rebellion. Mongoloid.

Tanaya, 1.195.

Tambusa, 4.26.

Taratoya, 1.108.

Tarala, 2.181.

Talavara, 2.181. Sinful creatures in S (*Cr.Ed.* XII. 200.39; Roy XII. 207).

Tāmara, 1.229. A mountainous country in purāṇas, and on side of the Himavat in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, 69. Tamar is another name for Murmi, a Tibeto-Burmic language spoken in Nepal. Murmi, Gurung, and Thaksya comprise the Gurung branch of Bodish. At the time of the Mahābhārata the languages of this branch had probably not differentiated, and Tāmara referred to the parent language.[1] Mongoloid.

Tāmraliṅgaka, 1.147.

Tāmraliptaka, 1.147; 2.120; 3.62; 4.152; 13.56. "Smeared with coppery red". On the face and in the E. Velā-kūla "stream-bank" = Tāmralipta (Pargiter, *JASB* 66 (1897), p. 103); cf. location of Tāmraliptaka on map. Tibetans are described in the New Tang History as painting their faces red, and on this basis I have classified the Tāmraliptakas as Tibetans.

Tārakṣiti, *Tārakṣura*, *Tārkṣya*, *-ṣa*, 3.46. W Ānava.

Tālacara, 13.84.

Tālajaṅga, 9.3. Haihaya.

Tālavana, 2.181. Telugu. See Talavara.

Tālākaṭa, *Tālīkaṭa*, 2.162.

Tittira, 4.22. The Matsyapurāṇa places it in W, and S of Narmadā; in that list it precedes *Kāraskara*, which heads a number of Dravidian peoples in List 5 given above. And in 4.22 *Tittira* precedes the names of Dravidian kingdoms (*Cola* and *Paṇḍya*). Therefore probably Dravidian, and possibly occupying the region S of Kuntala and N of Mahiṣaka, which is blank on the map.

Timiṅgila, *-lāśana*, 2.173.

Tilaka, 1.111.

Tilabhāra, 1.111.

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[1] For the group to which Murmi belongs, see Shafer, "Classification of Some Languages of the Himalayas," *JBRS* 36, pt. 4 (1950), pp. 192ff., especially pp. 194—203. For the Murmi language, see the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 3, pt. 1

Tīragraha, 1.107.
Tukhāra, 1.220; 3.14, 87.
Tuṅga, 3.3.
Tuṇḍikera, *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 4.47, Roy VIII. 5. On Vindhya range, according to pur.; modern town Tendukhera near Narbada in Narsinghpur, C. P. Haihaya.
Tumbupa, 4.26.
Turaṅga, 3.3.
Tuṣāra, 1.220; 3.14, 87; 13.93. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65).[1]
Tomara, 1.229.
Tramaṭha, 3.90.
Trigarta, 1.174; 2.61, 193; 3.40; 4.38, 60, 108, 130, 145; 13.29, 46, 59, 76, 80. A mountainous country, according to purāṇas, and on left side. Trigarta is not so much associated with Ambaṣṭha, as Ambaṣṭha is with Trigarta, indicating that the Ambaṣṭhas were either a tribe of Trigartas or subject to the latter. The Trigartas are most often associated with W Anavas, but almost as much with Śālvas; these associations may be due to Trigarta's geographical position, so we have no clear indication of the race or language of these people; they were probably W Ānavas or Yādavas (Śālvas).
Tripura, *-ī*, 2.19, 158; 4.96. On the Vindhya range and the right forefoot. Haihaya.
Tryaṅka, *-ga*, 1.176.
Tvandha, *-dhra*, 1.39.
Tvaṣṭra, 1.148.

Daṇḍaka, 2.163. Capital Kumbhavatī (Ray., 5th ed., 91). Early Mānava, later Bhoja (Yādava) rulers; Niṣādic base.
Darada, 1.216; 2.69; 3.2, 27, 30?, 81; 4.14, 57, 137; 13.31, 49, 98. Ptolemy *Daradrai*. Dardic.
Dārva, 1.124; 2.62; 3.28; 13.96. Dardic? Iranic?
Darvaka, *-īka*, 1.123.
Darśaka, 1.118. "Skillful."
Darśīka, 1.123.
Daśāpārśva, 1.136.
Daśārṇa, 1.19, 33; 2.38, 80; 4.3, 43, 156. "Ten-streams" ("Ten-lakes," according to Monier-Williams; "Ten-forts," according to Wilson,

[1] In the oldest dated manuscripts of the Mahābhārata the spelling is usually *Tuṣāra*, in later manuscripts *Tukhāra*. In Newari, the Tibeto-Burmic language spoken by the former rulers of Nepal, *ṣ* and *kh* interchange in the manuscripts (Hans Jørgensen, "A Grammar of the Classical Newārī," *Dan. Hist. Filol. Medd.* 27, no. 3 [1941], p. 8). It might be of some value to the "Tokharian" question to determine whether the spelling *Tukhāra* was first introduced into India through Nepalese manuscripts.

Vishnu Pur., II, 160, n. 3). Periplus *Dosarene*. On right forefoot and in SE. Capital Mṛttikāvatī (Kirfel 226). Yādava, probably Goṇḍī base.

Daśika, 1.123.

Dāśeraka, 4.5, 72, 133; 13.20. On left side and in N, and in purāṇas it is in the mountains.

Dāsa-mālika, *-maṇika*, 1.214.

Dāsamiya, 13.88. *Dāsameya* on left side and in N, next to *Yaudheya*.

Divyakaṭa, 2.206.

Dīptākṣa, 9.12.

Dīrghaveṇu, 3.21. "long braid or stream."

Dŭkūla, 1.103; 3.64.

Dugūla, 1.103; 3.64.

Durga, *Durgăla*, 1.103.

Durdura, 4.47. A hill on the right side of tortoise (Nilgiri Hills in Madras Presidency, according to NLD).

Durṣgala, 1.103.

Durvibhāga, 3.32.

Duṣkūla, 1.103.

Duḥśūla, 1.103.

Devaḥprastha, 2.51.

Dauvālika, 3.64.

Drāviḍa, *-da*, 1.152; 2.178; 3.73; 13.81. Capital Kāñci (modern Conjeevaram, 45 miles SW of Madras). N Tamil. Melanid.

Dvārapāla, 2.207.

Dvaitapeya, *Dvaidheya*, *Dvaipeya*, 1.82. W Ānava; see 2.164, 211.

Dhāndra, 1.39.

Dhurandhara, 1.25.

Dhenuka, 4.18.

Dhvajinyutsavasaṅketa, 1.173.

Nandivega, 9.17.

Navarāṣṭra, 2.136. According to Harivaṁśa, descended from Uśīnara by another wife than the mother of the Śibi, Suvīra, Kaikeya, and Madra, or the mother of the Yaudheyas. Ānava.

Nararāṣṭra, see Navarāṣṭra.

Nalakānana, *-kānala*, *-kālaka*, *-ika*, 1.164. Malid.

Nākula, 4.28.

Nācīna, 2.150.

Nāṭakeya, 2.146.

Nārāyaṇa, *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 4.59 + (inserted by V_1 D B K_3 M G $T_{2.3}$), Roy VIII. 6. Tribe of cowherds, "sons of original man." Supported Pāṇḍavas.

Nāsikya, 1.161.

Nillika, 1.161.
Niṣadha, 1.100. On right forefoot and Vindhya range. Yādava.
Niṣāda, 1.99; 2.99, 133, 164; 4.11, 134, 157; 13.45. Capital of the Niṣāda kingdom N of Prayāga was Śṛṅgaverapura (present Singror or Singor, on left bank of Ganges, 22 miles NW of Allahabad). On the right forefoot and the Vindhya range; this was a southern group of Niṣādas. The place where the Sarasvatī dissappeared in the earth was the gateway to the country of the Niṣādas (Mbh. III. 130). Bhil. Niṣādic.
Niṣkuṭa, follows 2.73.
Nīpa, 3.12a; 9.2. "Foot of a mountain." Purāṇas have a mountainous country *Nīhāra*, Vāyup. *Nigarhara*, due to corruption of texts. Śālva-Nīpa in middle of tortoise and in Bṛhat. in C. Nīpas served as bondsmen in the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira (*Cr. Ed.* II. 46.21, Roy II. 50). Vāyupurāṇa, MS e, said Nīpas were foreign (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3).

Naipālikaṁ "Nepal" (adj.) occurs in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Sylvain Lévi thought the etymology of the word had not been satisfactorily explained.[1] Lassen had suggested *Nīpa* > *Naipa*, which seems quite satisfactory to me—*Nīpa*, by vṛddhi of the first vowel, became *Naipa*, referring to the people of Nīpa just as we have *Saurāṣṭra* from *Surāṣṭra*, etc. And Skr. *ai*, as a general rule, became Prakrit *e*. So the first part of *Nepāla* is phonetically quite regular as a derivative of *Nīpa*.

But I do not believe we can consider *Nepāla* in isolation when discussing the last part of the word. Along the northern and eastern frontiers of ancient or modern India we find Pañcāla, Nepāla, Kośala, Malla, and Bangāla, and there is a Tibeto-Burmic language called Tsaṅla. Both Macdonell (Vedic Grammar) and Whitney (Sanskrit Grammar) refer to the suffix *-la* as rare. But *-la* is a very frequent suffix in Tsaṅla, which is spoken at present along the northern frontier of Assam from about 91° to 92° longitude. It is closely related to Tibetan. We know too little about the morphology of other Tibeto-Burmic languages of the Himalayas to do more than suggest that at least some of these final *-la*'s found in place names may have been Tibeto-Burmic in origin.

Two of the above names, *Kośala* and *Malla*, were of ancient Mānava states or under Mānava influence, and we do not find the long *ā* before the suffix *-la* that we find in *Pañcāla*, *Nepāla*, and *Baṅgāla*. Perhaps Kośala and Malla are of different origin.

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[1] *Le Népal; étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, Vol. 2 (Musée Guimet. Annales: Bibliothèque d'études, Vol. 18, 1905), p. 66. For early records of the name, see Lévi, pp. 61–63.

The general tendency has been to interpret *-āla* as an abbreviation for *ālaya* "dwelling". But *Nepāla* and *Baṅgāla* (<*Vaṅga*) have arisen since epic times and we should probably have survivals of the full form of the compound, if such it were. But no such survivals have been found.

But if *-la* was a suffix added owing to Tibeto-Burmic influence, then it would no doubt be added to the plural stem, **Naipā-*, *Vaṅgā-*, and perhaps *Pañcā-*, since the plural was used in referring to a people. Then *Pañca* would not be the word for "five" but the name of a people, with a plural *-ā-* stem.

Nīragrāha, 1.107.
Nūpavāsika, *Nṛpavāsika*, *-vāhika*, 1.41.
Nṛsiṁha, 2.65.
Neṣṭika, 1.161.
Naikapṛṣṭha, 1.24.
Nainṛta, 1.102.
Naimiṣa, 10.5. *Aryan.*
Nairṇika, 1.161.
Nairṝta, 1.102; 4.129.
Naiṣika, 1.161.
Nodana, 2.17.

Paṁśu, 1.218.
Paṅkāla, 1.73.
Pañca-Karpaṭa, 2.196.
Pañcanada, 2.203; 4.66, 117. *Pañcadaka* on tail and *Pañcanada* in W. Paxtu (Iranian).
Pāñcāla, 1.1, 22; 2.1, 78; 4.1, 81, 86; 8.11; 10.2; 11.1; 12.2. Capital Indraprāstha (present Indarpat, near Delhi); of N Pañcāla, Ahicchatrā (Ramnagar); of S Pañcāla, Kāmpilya (Kampil). Raychaudhuri (42) thought Pāñcālas consisted of five tribes: Krivis, Keśins, Sṛñjayas, Somakas, and Turvaśas. A brilliant guess, but, according to Pusalker (247), the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says Krivi was an older name of the Pāñcālas (XIII. 5. 4. 7), and the Sṛñjayas were led by a prince styled Parthāva (according to MRK 25—26), while the Taurvasavas were Yavanas in the Mahābhārata. A country of the Brahmarṣis, according to Manu. Aryan.
Paṭaccara, 1.8; 2.132; 4.8; 8.3. "Robber." Yādava.
Paṭnī, 1.218.
Paṇava, 1.168.
Pattana, *-i*, 2.18, 155.
Patti, 1.218.
Pattipañjaka, 1.192.
Patrorṇa, 3.66.

Panītaka, 1.45.
-Payaṭa, 2.204.
Părata, *Părataka*, *-daka*, 1.211.
-Pallaya, 1.184a.
Pallava, 1.221.
Pavaṅga, 1.227.
Paśu, 1.218.
Paśupa, *-pāla*, 3.22.
Paśubhūmi, 2.95.
Paśurāṣṭra, 1.43.
Paṣaṇḍa, 2.142.
Pahnava, 1.184.
Pahlava, 1.73, 184, 221; 2.212; 3.48, 80; 4.125. On right hind foot and in SW (i.e., NW); an "outside" people (pur.). Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); foreign in Jain literature. Mede, according to general opinion; Parthian, according to V. A. Smith.
Pāṁśurāṣṭra, 1.43.
Pāṁsuna, 1.97.
Pāṇibhadraka, 4.41.
Pāṇḍurāṣṭra, 1.43.
Pāṇḍya, 2.22, 155, 177; 13.28. *Pāṇḍya*, v. l. for *pāṇḍu* "pale, yellowish, white." Ptolemy *Pandiones*, Arrian *Pandaiē*. Capital Mathurā modern Madura). S Tamil. Melanid.
Pārada, 1.211; 3.2, 22?, 33?; 4.88; 13.65; see *Părata*. On right hind foot, but *Pārata* in W. Associated with Iranic peoples (Śakas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas), with peoples of Iranic origin (Haihayas, Tālajaṅgas), or a people probably ruling over Iranians (Yavanas) (Hariv. 13, 14). Probably Iranic.
Pārasīka, *-ra*, 1.112.
Pārāvaka, 1.211.
Pāravatīya, 1.151; 7.3.
Picuṇḍa, *Picchaṇḍa*, *Pichuṇḍa*, *Pityaṇḍa*, 2.175.
Piśāca, 4.13, 93; 13.23, 69. Dardic, according to Grierson; and A. N. Upadhye tends to limit it to the NW, particularly to Kaikeyas and Sogdians in India ("Paiśācī Language and Literature," *ABORI* 21 [1939—40], 1—37). However, the list of different types of Paiśācī given by Probodh Chandra Bagchi ("Śulika, Cūlika and Cūlikā-Paiśācī," *Journ. Dept. Let.*, *Univ. Calcutta* 21 [1931], 1—10) leads one to conclude that at a later period, at least, *Paiśācī* was used to refer to any Indic dialect spoken by foreigners, i.e., non-Indo-Aryans.
Puṇḍra, 1.39, 93, 149; 2.7, 42, 43, 115; 3.57, 63, 70; 4.9?, 15, 150; 13.16, 42. "Mark or line made on forehead with ashes or coloring substances." Capital Puṇḍravardhana (Pusalker). In E (Br.). Puṇḍras

were the only E Ānavas considered foreign in Vāyup., MS e (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2.3). E Anava, with Mundic base.

-Pulaka, *-ika*, 1.180.

Pulinda, 1.6, 17, 181, 193; 2.82, 84, 154; 4.87?; 13.104? Capital Pulindanagara. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); sinful people in S (Mbh. XII. 207). Foreign in Jain literature, where it occurs in list with other Dravidian peoples. Goṇḍī.

Puleya, 1.193.

-Puṣika, 1.180.

Pauṇḍrika, 3.52.

Pauraka, 3.37.

Paurava, 3.33, 37; 4.10, 80. Greek *Pōros* (a king on the Hudaspes).

Paurasa, 3.37.

Prakuñjaka, *Prakūpaka*, *Prakutsaka*, 1.114.

Prati-Puñjaka, *-ya*, 1.192.

Prati-Mañjaya, 1.192.

Prati-Matsya, 1.104.

Pradara, 3.20.

Prabhadraka, 4.82. "Very handsome, very fortunate." Of Kāmboja country (Mbh. VII. 23); but generally a division of Pāñcālas (Sørensen).

Pramuda, 1.97.

Prayāga, 4.4. Present Allahabad.

Pravăra, *-vaha*, 3.20.

Pravijaya, 1.91.

Pravīra, 9.14.

Prăśuna, 1.97.

Prasthala, 4.98; 6.1.

Prahrāda, *Prahlāda*, 1.65.

Prāgjyotiṣa, 2.49; 3.5. "Lighted from the east." If Prāgjyotiṣa and king Bhagadatta were not entirely fanciful creations, which seems unlikely, then there must have been a powerful early empire N of the Himalayas in the upper Indus and Brahmaputra valleys. From the statement in canto 57 of Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa that Bhārata extended from the Kirātas on the E to the Yavanas on the W, and from the statement in the Mahābhārata that Bhagadatta led Kirātas and Yavanas, we can only conclude that he controled the whole northern frontier. It may have been the power that drove the Āryas out of Tibet into India. From the reference to Bhagadatta as the dear friend of the chief of the celestials himself (Mbh. VIII. 5), one may infer that some of the aura that had gathered about the N Kurus had been bestowed upon Bhagadatta and that his capital may have been near Meru; it was only in post-epic times in Kamarupa. He was chief of the Mlecchas, so Tibeto-Burmic.

Prācya, 1.154. "Easterner." Ptolemy *Prasiakē* < **Prācyaka*. S Tamil. Melanid.
Prāvarāṇa, 3.67.
Prāvṛṣeya, 1.91.
Prāhūta, 1.65.
Proṣṭa, 1.178.

Bandha, 1.132.
Barbara, 1.144, 217; 2.29?, 107; 3.22?; 4,26?; 13.70. Sinful people in N (Mbh. XII. 207); low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). Foreign in Jain literature. Kusūnda.
Balaja, 1.125.
Balaraṭṭa, 1.128.
Balirāṣṭra, 1.48.
Balīha, 9.7.
Ballaka, *-va*, 1.184, 184a.
Bāhukātara, 1.122.
Bahurandra, *-ṇḍa*, 1.128.
Bahuvādya, 1.128.
Bahvaraṭṭa, 1.128.
Bāhyatodara, 2.222.
Bāhlīka, 1.67, 122; 2.68; 3.34; 4.21, 35, 113, 136; 7.7; 11.5; 13.47, 63. The Bāhlīkas are the offspring of two Piśācas and no respectable person should dwell among the Āraṭṭa and Bāhlīkas even for 2 days (Mbh. VIII. 44); I interpret this as meaning that they were the offspring of two devils, i.e., that they were doubly evil, rather than that they were pure Dards. For the language of the Bāhlīka, see Muir, II, 345 n. Mānava, later Ānava.
Bindukaṭa, 2.206.
Bodha, 1.7, 26; 8.3. "Knowing, understanding." Śālva (Agrawala), hence Yādava.
Brahmottara, 1.90.
Bhagavat, 2.102.
Bhadra, 2.32.
-Bhadraka, 4.41.
Bhadrakāra, 1.6; 8.2. Madrakāra (*m*, an orthographic error for *bh*), a division of the Śālva (Przyluski, *JA*, 1929, p. 314); therefore Yādava.
Bharadvāja, 1.224. Branch of Āṅgirasas, aboriginal brāhmans; Bharadvājas early connected with Himalaya foothill kingdoms.
Bhārga, 1.94. Ruled Suṁsumāragiri (Davids, p. 22). E Manava.
Bhallāṭa, 2.90. *Bhalla* in NE in Bṛhat., where it follows *Kauṇinda*; this last probably corresponds to *Kauśika* of the Mārk. text, so Bhallāṭa (Bhalla) is not far from the Kauśikī (Kosi).

Bhārasīra, 1.112.
Bhārgava, 1.92. Aboriginal brāhman family connected originally with Daityas, Danavas, and Asuras, later with the gods; first in region of Ānarta. Yādava?
Bhāsura, 1.97.
Bhujiṅga, 1.28. A corruption of Tibetan *Bod-žiṅ* "Tibetan-field, -garden"; for the aspiration of the Tibetan initial in Sanskrit, cf. Tibetan *Bod*, Skr. *Bhoṭīya* "Tibet". But Przyluski cited Bhuliṅga as a division of the Śālva. (*JA*, 1929, p. 314). In our epic text, *Bhujiṅga* occurs between *Madra*, near which a division of the Śālvas could have been, and *Kāśi*, to which Tibeto-Burmans could have penetrated at one time. Because of the absence of *-ṅga* names in the NW, but their presence in the lower Ganges, Przyluski's form is probably corrupt. Copyists were inclined to assimilate any trisyllabic word with a *-li-* in it to *Kaliṅga*; see 1.6, for example.
Bhubhusa, 4.26.
Bhūṣika, 1.155.
Bhoja, 1.16, 137; 2.137; 4.127; 13.92. "Leading a life of enjoyment; bountiful." Yādava and Haihaya.
Bhojakaṭa, 2.142, 160.

Măgadha, 1.55, 88; 2.9, 39, 111; 4.44, 70, 91, 151; 5.4; 10.10; 12.1; 13.10. *Maga-dha* "Having magicians, having priests of the sun." Capital Girivraja (Rājgir), later Pāṭaliputra (Patna). The Atharvaveda says that fever should go away from the Aryans to the Aṅgas, Magadhas, etc. Yāska said Kīkaṭa was the name of a non-Aryan country, and later works give *Kīkaṭa* as a synonym for *Magadha* (Ray. 70—71). The Āpastamba Śrautasūtra classes the Magadhas with outlying tribes like the Kaliṅgas, Gāndhāras, Pāraskaras (i.e., Kāraskaras?), and the Sauvīras (Rang. 334). For early contempt of Magadha, see Ray. 70—71. Magadha is wedged between Mānava, Ānava, and Saudyumna stocks, so that we cannot dertermine its ethnic composition precisely from its geographical position alone. But when the king of Magadha went to the city of Vidarbhā, he was accompanied by the E Anava princes of Pauṇḍra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga (Hariv. 117).

Baudhāyana said inhabitants of Magadha were of mixed origin (Dharmasūtra, I. 1.32—33). Manu said the Māgadhas are sons of a brahman or kṣatriya (white) father and a vaiśya (yellow) mother (x. 11). Early Tibeto-Burmic, late Vāsava; but early Gayā, Mundic.
Mañcaratha, 1.179.
Maḍaka, 4.17.
Maṇava, 1.168.
Maṇibhadraka, 4.41.

Maṇivālaka, 1.168.
Maṇḍaka, 4.17.
Mattamayūraka, 2.188.
Matsya, 1.9, 14, 104; 2.93, 127, 131; 4.29, 61, 106, 120; 8.13; 9.13; 10.4. "Fish" (totemic?). Capital Upaplavya; or Virāṭanagara (modern Vairāṭ, 100 miles SW of Delhi and 40 miles N of Jaipur). In middle of tortoise and in C. No account of dynasty; Ānava? A country of the Brahmarṣis (Manu); so Aryan in Manu's time.
Mathila, 2.8.
Mada-dhāra, *-dhika*, *-viraka*, 2.96a.
Madra(ka), 1.27; 2.32, 210; 3.42; 4.39, 64, 155; 6.2. Capital Śākala (modern Siālkoṭ). The Uttara Madras, as well as the Uttara Kurus, lived beyond the Himavat range, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 14). The Madra on the left side of the tortoise and in the N (Bṛhat.) are the Madra of India proper. The Madra of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā that are in the NW (i.e., far NW) are the N Madra. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); sinful people (Mbh. XII. 207). Mleccha in Garuḍap. W Ānava.
Madhumanta, 1.113. Mānava, later Yādava.
Madhyamikāya, *-makāya*, *-makeya*, *-mikeya*, 2.197. In C (Bṛhat). W Ānava.
-Mantapa, 1.184a.
Mandaka, 1.38.
Maratha, *-dha*, 1.126, 212.
Māruka, *-ta*, *-dha*, 2.148; 4.17. Maruka foreign in Jain literature.
Marucīpaṭṭana, 2.170.
Mārubhūta, *-bhūma*, 1.76.
-Mārtarava, 1.179.
Mala-ja, *-da*, *-dya*, *-ya*, 1.57, 87; 2.94. Modern Malda. Malto (Dravidian)?[1]
Malla, 1.63; 2.88, 93, 101. "Athlete." Capitals Kusāvatī or Kuśinārā or Kuśinagara in Nepal at junction of Little or E Rāptī with Gaṇḍak (Smith) or near Kasiā (Wilson, Cunningham), and Pāvā, modern village Padaraona, 12 mi. NE of Kasiā (Cunningham), or Fāzilpur, 10 mi. SE of Kasiā. Mallas descended from kṣatriya vrātyas (Manu, x. 22), which we may interpret as white people who did not follow the Indo-Aryan religion, i.e., Iranians. However, the Mallas who later ruled Nepal spoke Newari,[2] a Tibeto-Burmic language, but

[1] Only a small number of Malto speakers are now in Malda. Many more are across the Ganges in the Rajmahal Hills.

[2] Lévi, *Le Nepal*, I, p. 222, thought the ancestors of the Newars came from the north. But in a study of Newari I found some comparisons between Newari and Tibetan that are not found in Tibeto-Burmic languages to the east and southeast, but also others between Newari and Tibeto-Burmic languages to the southeast

cultivated Sanskrit and later Indic languages. Some of these later Mallas of the upper classes were probably of Aryan descent.
Mallaka, 1.184.
Mallaṭa, 2.90.
Mallīka, 1.183.
Maśika, *Māṣika*, 1.219.
Masāra, *-īra*, 1.112.
Māhida, 1.163.
Māhiṣakārṣaka, *-ika*, 1.66.
Maheccha, *Mahettha*, 2.191.
Mahyuttara, 1.90.
Māṭhara, 1.212.
Māthura, 13.2. Originally separate from Śūrasena; both tortoise geography and Bṛhatsaṁhitā give both people of Mathurā and Śūrasena in middle and center.
Mādreya, 1.3. A metronymic of Nakula and Sahadeva ("son of Mādrī"). Mādrī was also wife of Sahadeva and of Kṛṣṇa. Did descendants of one of these Mādrī rule a small area, or was Mādreya joined to Śālva or was it W Anava?
Mānavar-jaka, *-jita*, 1.89.
Māriṣa, 1.172.
Mārttikāvata, 13.60. Same as Śālva, the latter named after its king Śalva, according to NLD. Pargiter places Mārttikāvata in Śālva. Either of these solutions seem probable, as I had placed them as close together as possible on the map on the basis of the lists, before I had seen these authors' suggestions. Yādava.
Māla, 1.8.
Mālava, 1.168, 183; 2.35, 195; 3.51, 95; 4.59, 83, 89, 139; 13.30, 51, 78. "Horse-keeper." Arrian *Malloi*. Mountainous country (pur.). On left side and in N; they were not "quite out of place" there, as Pargiter remarked, since even in the time of the purāṇas the Mālavas lived in a "mountainous" country, and were nowhere near present Malwa. Foreign in Jain literature. Mālava kings were vrātya and mostly śūdra in the purāṇas (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 54—55).
Mālavāṇaka, 1.168.
Mālavārtika, 1.89.
Māvellaka, *Cr. Ed.* VIII. 4. 47, Roy. VIII. 5 (D_8 *Māṁvella-*, K_3 *Māṁvellika*). Vāsava.
Māhiṣaka, *-īka*, 1.158; 5.2. Kanarese. Indid; Malid on E and W borders.
Māhiṣmatī, 2.24, 157. Identified with Māndhātā on island in the Nerbuda

that are not found in Tibetan. ("Newari and Sino-Tibetan," *Studia Linguistica* 6 (Lund, 1952), 92--109). Since Tibeto-Burmic peoples probably extended clear across the Ganges valley to Nepal, this relationship of Newari to languages in the north, east, and southeast is understandable.

where Vindhya and Ṛkṣa ranges approach the river. Once capital of Haihaya, with Niṣāda and possibly Kūrkū base.
Māheya, 1.82.
Mithila, 2.8, 40.
Mīṣa, 1.197.
Mukuṭa, *-ṭṭa*, 1.10; 8.7; 9.16.
Muñjagrāma, 2.149.
Muṇḍa, 1.93; 3.91?; 4.75. "Man with shaved head." Mundic.
Muṇḍika, 2.7.
Mudgala, 13.24. Kṣatriyan brāhmans; Paurava.
Muracīpattana, 2.170.
-Mūlika, 1.180. Mūlaka capital Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) on Godavari, according to Sircar (1946).
Mūṣaka, *-ika*, 1.155, 160, 189. *Mūṣika* "rat", *Mūṣaka* "thief, rat." Malabar coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin. Upper half Malayālam, lower half Tamil. Malid race.
Mṛttikāvatī, 2.16. Haihaya.
Mṛṣika, 1.189.
Mekala, 1.20; 2.15; 4.46, 95, 153; 13.41. *Mekhala* on face, and *Mekala* in E. Vāyupurāṇa, MS e, considered Mekalas foreign (Pargiter, *Kali Age*, pp. 2, 3). Mekala was situated between main Mundic block in E and Kūrkū to W; was frequently associated with Ut-kala. Mundic.
Mekhala, 2.15; 4.46, 95. See *Mekala*.
Meruka, 4.17.
Moka, 1.8.
Modana, 2.17.
Modāgiri, 2.114.
Modāpura, 2.52.
Mohana, 2.17.
Mauleya, 3.50.

Yakṛllomān, 1.62.[1]
Yakṣa. Kubera was regent of the northern region and king of the Yakṣas. For Yakṣa ~ Yakha principalities, see Ray. 119—120, Rang. 438—439 (under *Allakappa*). Yakha is today spoken in Darjeeling and the upper valleys of Nepal; it is closely related to Limbu, and Yakha and Limbu form a somewhat aberrant unit of the Eastern Branch of East Himalayish. In other words, the Yakṣas were most closely

[1] Judging by associations in 1. 62 of the Geography, and the passage in Mbh. IV. 5, Yakṛllomān would be somewhere within the area bounded by the E Ānava states on the east, Daśārṇa on the south, Malla and Pañcāla on the north, and Śūrasena on the west. If NLD's identification of the Kālindī with the Yamunā is correct, Yakṛllomān would be on the south bank.

related in language to the Kirātas. Arjuna asked a Kirāta if he was a Yakṣa (Mbh. III. 39); his guess was not far off.

Yattalomān, 1.62.

Yatrāṅka, 1.176.

Yavana, 1.204; 2.28, 37, 186, 212; 3.5, 30?, 83; 4.17, 40, 90, 100, 124; 12.4; 13.34, 64, 94. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); "godless" (Garudap.); foreign in Jain literature. Taurvasava (Greek), perhaps with Iranic subjects.

Yāmuna, 1.97. On left side, and (Bṛhat.) in C and N. The people of Yāmuna mountain, the part of the Bāndarapuccha mountain in the Himalaya where the Yamunā has its source. Khasa (foothill Indic) or Kulinda (West Himalayish).

Yugandhara, 1.25. A division of the Śālva (Przyluski, *JA*, 1929, p. 314); so Yādava.

Yodha, 1.7. "Warrior."

Yodhya, 2.12.

Yaudheya, 3.41. On left side, and in N. Descended from Uśīnara by another wife than the mother of Śibis, Sauvīras, Madras, and Kaikeyas.

Rakṣovaha, 13.57.

Ramaṭa, *-ṭha*, *-ḍa*, *-ṇa*, *-tha*, *-dha*, 1.126, 212; 2.208; 3,90; 13.101. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). Ramaṭha, Ramaḍha were held foreign in Jain literature. W Ānava. Mongoloid.

Ramyakoṅkaṇa, *-kaukaṇa*, 1.110.

Ramyagrāma, 2.149.

Ravada, 1.212.

Rasyakāgaṇa, *-kāguṇa*, 1.110.

Rājika, *-ta*, 1.109.

Rāmaka, 2.172.

Rūpaka, 1.226.

Rūpasa, 1.196.

Rūpa-vāsika, *-vāhika*, 1.41.

Recaka, 4.37.

Reṇupa, 13.86.

Remaka, 2.172.

Reṣika, 1.219.

Romā, 2.185.

Romāka, *-śa*, 1.137; 3.16. Romaka foreign in Jain literature.

Roman, 1.137.

Rohītaka, 2.33.

Ṛṣika, 1.197; 2.73. On right side (i.e., S of Vindhyas).

Laṅkā, 2.187. Wedda (Malid) (and Melanid?).

Laḍaka, *Ladaka*, 4.18. Laḍaha on left hind foot (i.e., in upper Indus valley).

Lambaka, 2.71. Lampaka, Kafirs of Hindu Kush (Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 9, pt. 4, p. 4). Dardic.

Lalittha, 1.209. (*Cr. Ed.* VIII. 4. 46: V_1 *Lapittha*, B_3 *Kuliṁda*, in text shortly before *Uśīnara*). The Lalitthas, or Lapitthas, and Kulatthas probably closely related; and in Kulinda and close to Uśīnara. W Ānava.

Lāṅgala, 1.141.

Lokagiri, 2.169.

Loha, 2.71.

Lohajaṅga, *Cr. Ed.* II. 46. 21; Roy II. 50. "Reddish shanks." Bondsmen in palace of Yudhiṣṭhira. Haihaya.

Lohita, 2.60.

Lauhitya, 2.125. On face and in E. Brahmaputra region; Tibeto-Burmic and Khasic.[1] Mongoloid.

Vakra, *Vakrāti*, 1.51, 52.

Vaṅga, 1.60, 86; 2.5, 117; 3.3?, 56, 60, 68; 4.149; 13.8, 53. For *Vaṅga* > modern *Baṅgāla*, see detailed study of N. N. Das Gupta, "Origin of the Name 'Bengal,'" *IHQ* 22 (1946), 277—285; also Dines Chandra Sircar, (same title), *IHQ* 23 (1947), 62—65, with bibliographical references, and see *Nīpa* above. E Ānava.

Vaccha, 1.139.

Vajiny-utsavasaṅketa, 1.173.

Vatsa, 1.14; 4.27; 9.13; 13.13; see next entry. "Child." Capital Kauśāmbī (modern Kośām). Early?, late Vāsava.

Vatsa-bhūmi, 2.14, 97. I am not sure that this is the same as *Vatsa*, for it occurs with names of some unlocated countries. If not the same, it would appear to refer to the country about Vatsa, to the east and south.

Vadhra, 1.132.

Vanavāsika, *-sin*, 1.156. Yaśodhara's commentary places Vānavāsaka E of Kuṅkaṇa; and in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, *Vanavāsin* follows *Kaṅkaṇa*. Capital Sihapura (Law, *Geography*). Between the Ghats, the Tuṅga-

[1] Chatterji (30) states that although the Khassis speak Austroasian languages, they are by race Mongoloid. He thought it likely they were Tibeto-Burmans who adopted the language of the earlier Australoids.

Although the Austroasian family of languages has not yet been fully established, it will be in time, and Khasic will be one of the divisions or sections. And yet I have noted a very considerable number of lexical parallels between Khasic and Tibeto-Burmic languages. ("Études sur l'austroasien," *BSL* 48 [1952], fasc. 1, 133—158.) In consideration of Chatterji's statement regarding the Mongoloid race of the Khassis, it is possible that at the time of the Mahābhārata all Lauhitya was of one race and of one type of speech—Mongoloid and Tibeto-Burmic.

bhadrā, and the Varadā. A town now called *Banavasi* is on the left bank of the Varadā. Kanarese. Malid.
Vanavāhyaka, 1.135.
Vănāyu, 1.135; 7.6.
Vantrika, 8.35.
Vămana, 4.55, 73.
Varayu, 9.10.
Varcăka, 1.132.
Varṇaka, 1.142.
-*Vartaka*, -*ya*, 1.184a.
Varmaka, 2.104.
Varmila, 4.55.
Valaja, 1.125.
Valāva, 1.125, 184.
Vali-rāṣṭra, 1.48. Same as *Val-kala*?
Valkala, 1.182. Kūrkū (Mundic).
-*Vallaka*, 1.142.
-*Vallaya*, 1.184a.
Vaśāti, *Vasāti*, 3.49; 4.51, 104, 143; 13.73, 89. Arrian *Ossadioi*. In N. Thrice follows *Śibi*, and Pargiter ("Nations at the Battle," *JRAS* [1908], 328) suggested that the Śibi and Vasāti were two tribes composing one nation. This is a possibility to be considered with a number of closely associated tribes in the epic.
Vastrapa, 3.47.
Vahyatodhara, 2.222.
Vāṭadhāna, 1.68; 2.198; 4.63; 13.26, 91. On left side, and in N. Descended from brāhman vrātyas (Manu, x. 21), i.e., white people who did not follow the Indo-Aryan religion, in other words Iranians.

But "*Vāṭa-dhāna*, *Śava-dhāna*" on left side of tortoise, and *Vāṭa-dhāna*, *Śara-dhāna*" in N in Bṛhatsaṁhitā. And Przyluski cited *Śaradaṇḍa* as a division of the Śālvas (*JA*, 1929, p. 314). There are orthographic errors in the list of Śālva divisions and **Śara-dhāṇa* is probably the original form; cf. modern Sardhanā near Meerut. From the close association of this word with *Vāṭadhāna* in the two astrological lists, one may deduce that the Vāṭadhānas were also Śālvas, i.e., Yādavas, and I have so designated them on the map. The differences between Iranians and Yādavas was not originally extreme, as the latter were only "half-breed" Iranians.
Vātaja, 1.125.
Vātavasyāpavāya, *Vānarāsya P(r)avāha*, *Vānavāsyāpavāha*, 1.50.
Vārṣṇeya, 3.10, 47.
Vārṣṇika, 4.35.
Vāhīka, 1.67; 4.21.
Vikandha, 1.159.

Vikarṇa, 4.35, 54. "Having large or divergent ears; having no ears." Clans of Vikarṇas were associated with Turvaśas, Yadus, Pūrus, Druhyus, and Anus at vedic battle on Paruṣni, and hence were hostile to the Aryans; and they served in the army of Duryodhana. So they were very probably non-Aryan.

Vikalpa, 1.159. Malayālam. Malid race.

Vikuñja, Vikuṭṭa, Vikuṇṭha, Vikunta, -da, 4.74, 87. W Ānava? Mongoloid?

Vigīrna, 4.54.

Vijaya, 1.58. "Victory." Corrupted from Vṛjji in Mithilā?

Vidarbha, 1.40, 198; 2.21, 107; 4.45. Capitals Vidarbhā and later Kuṇḍina (Kuṇḍinyapura on the Wardhā in the Chāṇdur tāluk of Amraoti). Later capital Bhojakaṭa (modern Bhojapura, 6 miles SE of Bhilsā [Vidiśā]). On right forefoot and in SE; on Vindhya range (pur.). Bhoja, Yādava (Hariv. 117).

Videha, 1.54, 146; 2.80, 105; 4.131; 9.9; 13.37, 55. "Bodiless, dead" (*Vaideha* "having a handsome frame or body"). Capital Mithilā (modern Tirhut or Janakpur in Nepal); later Jayanta. According to Manu, the Vaidehas are sons of a brāhman or of a kṣatriya (i.e., white) father and a vaiśya (yellow) mother (x. 11). But the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were from kṣatriya vrātyas (x. 22). We can understand this by reference to Triveda's map (*JBRS* 37 [1951], pts. 1—2, facing p. 127). The E Ānavas (Tibeto-Burmans) had not only reached the Gaṅgā river on the N border of Aṅga but had crossed it and occupied what was later Videha. When the Āryas invaded India, the Mānavas (Iranians) pushed eastwards and occupied Kośala, and later extended their sway further east. When they crossed the Sadānīrā[1] they were full of ardor and really "burned up the earth" (present "scorched earth" policy), exterminating all the Mongoloids. But being Iranians they were vrātya. By the time the Mānavas had crossed the Vyāgbramatī their ardor had turned from war to women and they intermarried with the native Mongoloids. Mānava, with E Anava base.

Vidruma, 3.1.

Vindāṭaka, 2.206.

Vindhya-cipulika, -culika, -cchulika, -pulika, etc., 1.180.

-Vipula, 1.180.

Vibhāta, 1.143.

Vītihotra, 13.58.

Vīraka, 5.6.

Vṛka, 1.176; 4.58.

Vṛṅka, -ga, 1.176. Bhṛṅga capital Māsapurī (Kirfel, 226).

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[1] The one who let Agni Vaiśvānara escape from his mouth was Videgha the Māthava, and the Kośalas and Videhas were Māthavas (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I. 4. 1. 10—17).

Vṛttaka, 1.184a.
Vṛndāṭaka, 2.206.
Vṛṣṇi, 2.27; 4.126. "Strong, powerful; angry." Yādava.
Veṇika, *Veṇṇika*, 4.35. *Veṇika* "Braid of hair." Probably Yādava.
Veṇuka, 4.18. On left side between *Madras* (i.e., Uttara Madras) and *Hūṇa*.
Veṇupa, 13.86.
Veṣika, 1.219.
Vaiduma, 3.1.
Vaiyamaka, *-ika*, 3.30.
Vaira, 2.67.
Vairāma, 3.1.
Vyaṅga, *Vyāghra*, 1.176.
Śaka, 1.53, 98, 208; 2.36, 106, 212; 3.7, 13, 54, 84; 4.58, 69, 122, 144; 13.33, 61. *Śaka* is such a convenient little space filler, that most occurrences are probably not original. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65). Foreign in Jain literature. Iranian.[1]
Śakala, 2.48.
Śatadru, 1.208.
Śabara, 4.25. Ptolemy *Sabarai*. On right forefoot and in SE. Low and barbarous (Mbh. XII. 65); sinful people in S (Mbh. XII. 207). Foreign in Jain literature. Savara (Mundic).
Śama-kūṭa, *-kuṭṭa*, *-krūra*, 1.47.
Śarmaka, 2.103.
Śarmila, 4.55.
Śaśaka, 2.36.
Śāṇavatya, *Śāna-*, 3.58.
Śālva, 1.2; 4.105, 119, 144; 8,4; 10.3; 12.2; 13.74, 79. Same as Mārttikāvata, and capital Śalvapura or Saubhanagara (NLD). Śalva was lord of city of Saubha (Mbh. III.12, 14—16). In middle and C. Referred to as Dānavas and Daityas (Mbh. III. 16ff.). Yādava.
Śālvaseni, 1.175. Same as Śālva, or at least in approximately same location.
Śālvāyana, 8.10.
Śibi, 2.192; 3.39; 4.50, 103, 142; 12.3. Greek *Siboi*. Capital Ariṣṭapura or Śibipura. Mountainous (Mbh. VIII. 45). In Alexander's time, clad in skins and armed with clubs. W Ānava.
Śirandhra, *Śirāṭa*, *Śirāla*, *Śirālvāṭa*, 1.194. Kanarese, by position.
Śirīṣaka, 2.190.

[1] The position assigned the Śakas on the maps in this volume was determined solely on the evidence from the early Sanskrit literature. However, it agrees with late research on the Śaka invasion of India; thus, J. E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period* (Leiden, 1949), p. 327ff., presents a case for the Śaka (and Tuṣāra) invasion from the north, instead of from the west alone.

Sanādartha, 1.124.
Sabherya, 1.191.
Samaṅga, 1.169.
Samavegaruma, *-vaśa*, *-vasa*, 1.179.
Samika, 1.219.
Sarvaseni, 1.175.
Savasāti, 1.175.
Sasairandhra, 1.150.
Sahyottara, *Sahyu-*, 1.90.
Sāgaraka, 3.65. E Ānava?
Sātvata, see Sørensen. Manu said they were descended from vrātya vaiśyas (x. 23), which, if correct, would indicate mixture with a yellow race. I have not been able to place the Sātvatas very definitely geographically, but they seem to have been more southern than western, and it is possible that they may have mixed with the Dvaipeyas of Cutch, which I have classed as Western Ānavas. The Sātvatas were, however, held to be Yādavas, and Pargiter equated the two terms. But Raychaudhuri (5th ed., 90ff.) seems to make the people Sātvat(a)s, the royal line Bhojas.
Sāda, 1.145.
Sāmudra-kukkuṭa, *-kuṅkuṭa*, *-niṣkuṭa*, 1.84. The Śūdra kings of the coast; see p. 1, par. 4. Bhilla. Niṣādic.
Siṁhapura, 2.65.
Siṁhala, 3.76.
Siddha, 1.145. There it occurs in the sequence *Barbara*, *Siddha*, *Videha*; but in 2.105—107 is the reverse sequence *Vaideha*, *Śaka*, *Barbara*, where the substitution of *Śaka* for *Siddha* suggests that the Siddhas may have been Śakas. But the last two words in the last sequence only occur by "insertion" in N_1 Dn; and see *Śaka*. Whatever the original spelling of the name, the people referred to were more likely Dhimalish (Dhimal, Toṭo) than Rong, since the latter are probably rather late immigrants from the Naga Hills.
Sindhu-Pulindaka, 1.17. Gonds (Dravidian).
Sindhu-Sauvīra, 1.116; 4.49, 65, 115; 6.7. On the right hind foot and in the SW (i.e., NW), and well up on the foot. Capital of Sindhu, Vītabhaya (Kirfel, 226). W Ānava.
Sirāla, 1.194.
Sukaṭya, 1.10.
Sukaṇṭha, 1.47.
Sukanta, 1.10.
Sukanda, 1.47, 114.
Sukuṭṭa, *-ṭya*, 1.10, 47; 8.7.
Sukunda, *Sukṛtva*, 1.47.
Sūkṣma, 1.56; 2.66?; 4.75.

Sukhavāsika, 1.41.
Sudaya, 1.196.
Sudāman, 1.130. A river mentioned in Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, XXII. 18. 1.
Sudella, *-ṣṭa*, *-ṣṭra*, *-ṣṇa*, *-dekṣṇa*, 1.64, 96. West Central Himalayish.[1] Sudeṣṇa was the mother of the E Ānavas. Although it is more likely that the E Ānavas belonged to the Barish section of the Baric division of Sino-Tibetan, and were probably little closer genetically to the Tibeto-Burmic groups of the Himalayas than the Chinese are, the Aryans may have conceived of the E Ānavas as descended from the West Central Himalayish peoples. Mongoloid.
Sudoṣa, *-ṣṇa*, 1.64.
Sūnapa, *-da*, *-ya*, 1.196.
Sundaravega, 9.11.
Sunyastapāda, 8.14.
Suparṇaka, *-vata*, 1.131.
Supārṣva, 2.92.
Sumallika, *Sumahlika*, 1.131.
Sumāla, 2.67.
Surāṣṭra, *Sau-*, *Sva-*, 1.79; 2.159; 4.128; 9.6; 11.6. Ptolemy *Surastrene*. Near end of right hind foot (i.e., in SW). Name survives in modern Surat. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* calls the Saurāṣṭras, or the Ābhīras, or both, men of great stature and black in color. Yādava, with Bhil base.
Surucīpaṭṭana, *-pattana*, 2.170.
Suvarcaka, *-ṇaka*, 1.131.
Susthara, *-la*, *Susthūra*, 8.6.
Suhma, 1.56; 2.42, 66?, 109, 110, 122; 4.75. In the E (Br.). E Ānava.
Suhmottara, 1.90.
Sūcaka, 1.196.
Sūtapa, 1.196.
Sṛñjaya, see *Pañcāla*.
Seka, 2.139, 140.
Saindhava, 3.88; 7.2. Possibly an "outer" people independent of the Sindhu-Sauvīras, judging from occurrences; and, according to Agrawala, "those whose ancestors lived in Sindhu."
Saivala, 1.121.
Saisiri(n)dhra, 1.150.
Sottara, 1.43.

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[1] Consisting of Magarī, Tśepang, and Vāyu or Hāyu; see my "Classification of Some Languages of the Himalayas," *JBRS* 36, pt. 4 (1950), 192–214, particularly 208–214. Perhaps the *Haya-mukha*, whom the early Jain regarded as Mleccha along with the Kirātas (Chatterji, 22), was a corruption of Hāyu.

Sodana, 2.17.
Sodbhida, 1.163.
Somaka, see *Pañcāla*. Near Kampilya (Raychaudhuri. 5th ed., 73).
Somadeśa, *-dheya*, 2.96.
Saudha, 1.26.
Saubalya, 1.11.
Saubha, 13.6.
Sauvalya, 1.11.
Sauvīra, 1.116; 4.49, 65, 110, 116, 135; 6.8; 9.5. *Suvīra* "hero, warrior". Capital Roruka. See *Sindhu-Sauvīra*. W Ānava.
Sauśalya, 1.11.
Sauhṛda, 1.163.
Stanada, *-pa*, 1.195.
Stana-pālaka, *-poṣika*, *-yoṣika*, 1.225.
Stana-bāla, 1.190.
Stapasa, 1.195.
Stālabāla, *Stuna-*, 1.190.
Stūbaka, 1.196.
Strīrājya, 3.92. "Realm of females." *Strīvāhya* on left hind foot, and *Strīrājya* in NW (i.e., in far NW). Garudap., 55, in SW (i.e., NW): *Kāmboja*, *Strīmukha*, *Śaka*.
Sthala-bāla, *Sthūla-*, 1.190.
Svakṣa, 1.56; 2.66?
Svamukha, 2.66.

Haṁsa-kāyata, *-kāyana*, *-kāhina*, 3.38.
Haṁsa-mārga, 1.230. A mountainous country (pur.), and on side of Himavat (Brahmāṇḍap. 69). The modern Magars? If so, West Central Himalayish, and Mongoloid.
Harivarṣa, 2.77.
Hāṁsaka, 1.133.
Hāṭaka, 2.75, 76.
Hāra-Hūṇa, 2.209; 3.11, 85. See *Hūṇa*.
Hālava, 1.183.
Hiṁsaka, *Hiṅga*, *Hīnaka*, 1.133.
Huṇḍa, 4.9.
Hūṇa, 1.210; 2.209; 3.6a, 11, 85; 4.9. On left side and in the N. Mountainous (Vāyup.). Near upper Indus (Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 67—68). Foreign in Jain literature. Authorities generally agree that the *Hsiung-nu* of Chinese history and the *Hūṇa* and *Huns* referred to the same or approximately the same people. I believe we may extend the number of terms somewhat. Let us first take the Chinese terms, which I give below in the following order: (1) character, (2) Bernhard Karlgren's Ancient Chinese transcriptions, (3) reference to Karlgen's

works,[1] (4) the manner in which Uigur would transcribe the Chinese word.[2]

匈	奴
꜀xi̯ʷong 161	*꜀nuo* 674
xu(u)[3]	*nu*
葷	粥
꜀xi̯uən 508	*i̯uk GS* 1024a
xun	*uk, uq, ux*?[4]

Other characters used were 薰 174, and 獯 174, both *꜀xi̯uən* in Ancient Chinese; and 育 1130, and 鬻 *GS* 1024b, both *i̯uk* in Ancient Chinese. Thus we have only two phonetic forms, one of which Uigur would have pronounced *xunu* or *xūnu*, the other *xunux, xunuq, xunu'*? The first part (*xun-*) of the last form is not in doubt and neither is the *u* of the last part, but only the question of whether initial *i̯* of Ancient Chinese became *y* in Uigur before *u* and in sandhi, and the pronunciation of the final consonant.

The first of the above Chinese forms comes as close to the *Hunu* that I have seen cited from the Avesta.[5] as the phonetics of Uigur permit. And Sanskrit *Hūṇa* is very similar to the Chinese "transcription" *Xunu* or *Xūnu*, and Avesta *Hunu*, except that Sanskrit

[1] From his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris, 1933), except those labeled *GS* which are from his *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940).

[2] From my collection of Uigur transcriptions of Chinese. Chinese terms from J. J. M. De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1921), Vol. 1, pp. 1ff.

[3] Actually *-uu* in my one example of Ancient Chinese *-i̯ʷong*; but *-i̯ʷo* becomes Uigur *-u*. Chinese *-ng* has been both recorded and unrecorded in Uigur, probably according to the preceding vowel.

[4] Materials are insufficient to determine the precise Uigur transcription of Ancient Chinese *i̯uk* where *i̯* is initial. When *i̯* is not initial the final *-i̯uk* has been transcribed *-u* in the one example I have found; it seems unlikely that the loss of *-k* is regular, however, although it may have become a glottal stop after back vowels of some Chinese dialects.

[5] I have not found this in Bartholomae's dictionary but only cited in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Barcelona), under *Huno*, p. 727. For western forms, see Bussagli, "Osservazioni sul problema degli Unni," *Rend. Ac. Lincei* (1950), 212—232.

has substituted for the final root vowel *u* the stem final *-a* characteristic of the names of peoples in that language. But comparative grammarians have found that Sanskrit cerebrals come from a primitive dental next to *r*, and we saw above another example of this in the loan word for "horse" in Sanskrit. Now the purāṇas have a form **Urṇa*, which together with epic Skr. *Hūṇa*, suggests Indic **Hūrṇa*, Turk **Xūrnu*.

We may compare this with Tibetan *Hor*,[1] corresponding to the first syllable of the reconstruction **Hūr-ṇa*. The difference of vowels may indicate a back diphthong or a back vowel between *o* and *u*, as Ptolemy's *Xoũnoi* suggests, since the Greeks wrote *u* (*y*) for Indic *u*.

But while it seems virtually certain that all the above forms go back to one primitive form, we can not say the same for the peoples to whom the terms were applied. The general opinion seems to be that the Hsiung-nus, Huns, Hūṇas, etc., were Turks. But there has been a wide difference on the composition of the peoples going under that name. Scholars have suggested that it included some Iranians, Mongols, Paleosibirians (ancestors of the Yenissei-Ostyaks), etc. Whatever the dominant race or speech was, there must have been subject peoples in such far-flung empires, and subject armies, and some mixture and mutual influence—ethnic, linguistic, and cultural. Otto Maenchen-Helfen has comparatively recently discussed the whole question from the evidence of language, history, ethnology, and archaeology,[2] so that only a few observations will be made here.

Although Maenchen-Helfen cited[3] a contribution by Paul Pelliot to the effect that the greater part of the Hsiung-nu vocabulary pointed to Mongol, Pelliot stated in a work published two years later[4] that he considered it nearly established at that time that the Hsiung-nu and Huns were Turks. And that opinion has prevailed down to the present day.[5] Yet the linguistic evidence for this has been rather weak.

Louis Bazin recently attempted to determine the language of the Hsiung-nu in "Un texte proto-turc du IVe siècle: le distique hiong-nou du 'Tsin-chou,'"[6] and Annemarie von Gabain offered a different interpretation in a review of Bazin's article.[7] Both operated with Karlgren's "Archaic Chinese" reconstructions, in-

[1] See below.
[2] "Huns and Hsiung-nu," *Byzantion* 17 (1944—1945), 222—243.
[3] Op. cit., p. 224. [4] *La haute Asie* [1931], 6.
[5] Franz Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (Baden-Baden, 1951), 20, thought Hsiung-nu titles and names of offices showed they were Turks. See also Altheim, „Die Wanderung der Hunnen," *La Nouvelle Clio* I (1949), 71—72, 79.
[6] *Oriens* I (1948), 208—219.
[7] In *Der Islam* 29 (1949), 244—246.

cluding "the little phonemes that weren't there,"[1] and both had to make a number of assumptions for the two lines to make sense. Yet between the two interpretations, enough Turkish words (*sü*, *tilï-*, *tut-*) appeared to make it likely that these two scholars were on the right track but had used the wrong method.

The question Bazin and von Gabain discussed was an oracle rendered in Hsiung-nu at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. by Buddhist Fo-tʻu-teng to Shih Lo, Hsiung-nu king of NE China, at the time Liu Yao, another Hun, was seizing Lo-yang. The meaning, according to Bazin, was "Si l'armée sort, Liu Yao sera capturé."

	秀	支	替	戾	岡	僕	谷	劬	禿	當
Arch.	*siôg*	*t'ịĕg*	*tʻiei*	*lıəd*	*kâng*	*bʻuok*	*kuk*	*gʻịu*	*tʻuk*	*tâng*
Bazin	*sü-g*	*täg-*	*ti*	*id-*	*qaṅ*	*boquγiγ*			*tut-qaṅ*	
	army-A.	attack-(n.)		send-out-(2d pl.)		commander			capture-(2d pl.)	
Gabain	*sä*	*rig*	*ti-*	*lï-t-*	*qaṅ*	*buγuγ*		*kö*	*türkäṅ*	
	das Heer		du wirst herausführen,			den 'Hirsch' du wirst entführen				
Karlgren	805	1212	41	530	304	760	425	484	1131	970
Anc.Ch.	*sịə̯u'*	*˛t'śie̯*	*tʻiei'*	*liei'*	*˛kâng*	*bʻuok*	*kuk*	*˛gʻịu*	*tʻuk*	*˛tâng'*
Uig.	*siu-*	*či*	*ti-*	*li-*	*k-äng*	*bu(q)-*	*qu(q)*	*-gu*	*tu(q)*	*-tang*

In the first line is the Chinese transcription of the Hsiung-nu; in the second, Karlgren's so-called "Archaic Chinese" reconstructions; in the seventh, entry numbers to Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary* where the Ancient Chinese reconstructions in the following line will be found; in the ninth, the manner in which Uigur would transcribe the Chinese phonemes in line 8—based upon my collection of Uigur transcriptions of Chinese.

I think it stands to reason that if we have a Chinese transcription of Turkish, the thing to do is get get it back into Turkish as the Turks did themselves.

There are a number of flaws in both Bazin's and von Gabain's interpretation. Bazin interpreted the *-g* of the first word as the accusative, but it should be in the indefinite case, as von Gabain pointed out (p. 245). He disregarded the *l* of the fourth word on the ground that Turkish seldom had initial *l*; but Chinese recorded an *l* there so Turkish must have had some similar phoneme there (*l*, *r*). He must assume Chinese *gʻịu* represents Turkish *-iγ*. And he must assume metathesis of *t* and *k* (*q*) in the Chinese transcription.

[1] See review of Karlgren's *The Chinese Language* in *JAOS* 70 (1950), 139—141.

Perhaps *säri* "army" does exist in Turkish; I only know Koman *čeri*, *čejri*, with a different initial. But even if there is such a form *säri*, von Gabain goes through contortions to make it fit the "Archaic Chinese" transcriptions: she omits the first *-g* when it is convenient, but retains the second *-g*; the vowel cannot be *ä* in von Gabain's *sä-*, but only *u* or *ü*, as in Bazin's *sü*. And she transformed "Archaic Chinese" *t'i̯ĕg* into Turkish *rig*; now, although Chinese final *-t* is represented in Uigur half the time by *t* and half by *r* in my collection of examples, it is unsafe to assume that Turkish *r* would be used to transcribe initial Chinese *t*; thus ancient Chinese *-m* is preserved in Uigur transcriptions of Chinese but Chinese initial *m-* becomes *b-* in Uigur in the three examples I have found. In von Gabain's last form, the *r* might be justified if the Chinese were *t'ut kang*; but it is *t'uk tâng*, i.e., the *t* is not final in Chinese, but initial.

Both Bazin's rendering "send the army to the attack, capture the commander," and von Gabain's "du wirst das Heer herausführen, den 'Hirsch' du wirst entführen" make sense and there is no objection on that ground.

I make one assumption in my interpretation. My collection of Uigur transcriptions of Chinese shows general agreement on the manner of transcribing most Ancient Chinese phonemes. But occasionally there is disagreement and my materials are not yet sufficient to decide such cases definitely. Thus Anc. Ch. *-k* is generally preserved as *-k*, *-q*, *-γ* in Uigur transcription, but is occasionally dropped. In my examples of the latter it is only in fragment T II M, but whether this is significant or not is uncertain. In my interpretation of the Hsiung-nu text I assume that it was recorded in a northern Mandarin dialect where *-k* had already dropped. This hypothesis is empirical, based primarily on the fact that it works and we do not have a lot of surplus *-q*'s to account for.

My interpretation of the Uigur transcription of the Chinese transcription of the Hsiung-nu text is *sü-či tili-k-äng, buqug-u tut-ang*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
which I would roughly translate "revive the army (men), capture Buquγ."

1. Old, Middle Turk., Uigur *sü* "army"[1]

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[1] Sources: W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (St. Petersburg, 1895); C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-Turk*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica I (Budapest, Leipzig, 1928); W. Bang and A. von Gabain, "Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der türkischen Turfan-texte," *SBAW* (1931), pt. 1, 461ff.; Otto Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten* (St. Petersburg, 1851); C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens* (Leiden); K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch, Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Comanicus*, Monumenta

2. Suffix with occupational names, as Koman *iš* "work", *iš-či* "worker"; Uigur *quš* "Vogel," *quš-čï* "Vogeler," etc.
3. Old Turk. *tiri* "to live," Jakut. *tillī* "das Leben," *tilin, tilläbin* "lebendig werden, aufleben, auferstehen," Middle Turk. *tilä-mäk*, Uigur *tilä* "erstreben".
4. Uigur *-k-*, *-q-* forms denominal, passive verbs. Examples are insufficient to form an idea of the use.
5. Jakut *-ṅ*, *-ïṅ*, *-iṅ*, *-üṅ*, *-uṅ* "2d pl. imperat.", N. dials. *-aṅ* (according to Bazin).
6. Uigur *buγuγ*, *boγuγ*, *boquq* "n. p. m." Von Gebain doas not give this in her list of abbreviations, but I take it to mean "nomen proprium männlich." Bazin mentions a form which could have been *buquγ* in the inscription of Bilgä Qaγan where it occurs in connection with a title, and Bazin regards it as a "Hun" title of Liu Yao.
7. *-u* is accusative definite, and a preceding surd becomes sonant, as Jakut *tobuk* (stem), *tobugu* (A. def.) (pp. 260, 256).
8. Old Turk. *tut-* lay hold of, seize (fassen, ergreifen, halten), *tut-ku* "der Gefangene," Middle Turk., Uigur, Koman, Jakut, E. Turk. *tut-*.
9. See 5 above.

The translation seems to be fairly exact, except that the oracle or Fo-tʻu-teng was a bit sarcastic. Instead of the first verb meaning "sortir," it appears to mean "is brought to life," "cause to come to life."

Although Prof. N. Poppe suggested to me that *sü-či* could mean "army men," "army leader," his chief criticism is that *sü-či* has not actually been found in Turkic. But if Hsiung-nu was proto-Turkish as Bazin suggested, or even just another dialect, it is not impossible that *-či* in this combination may represent a usage which was later dropped.

So, if a few places in the text, such as *-či*, cannot be entirely satisfactorily explained at present, yet it is virtually certain that this short Hsiung-nu text was Turkish, and not a very aberrant type of Turkish.

Gy. Németh has analyzed the names of Attila's relatives as Turkish. All his interpretations seem plausible, most of them probable.[1]

And so, while this writer inclines, with this concrete linguistic evidence, to the view that the peoples called by terms descended

linguarum Asiae Maioris I (Copenhagen, 1942); Hermann Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik* (Innsbruck, 1870).

[1] „A Hunok Nyelve — Die Sprache der Hunnen," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 24 (1952), pts. 3—4, pp. 217—226 (or pp. 143—144?). This was not immediately available to me and I depend on a copy or abstract kindly furnished me by Dr. Alo Raun. I am uncertain of the paging.

from *Hurnu[1] were Turks or under Turkish domination, or had been under such domination, these last alternatives leave a large area for research. Our information on the matter from western sources is necessarily scanty. Most of the peoples subjugated by the *Hurnus had never heard of them before and probably never wished to hear of them again. Their only curiosity about the *Hurnus was how to get rid of them. They did not care what the *Hurnus spoke or what they looked like or where they came from; they only hoped they all went to hell. And the manners of the *Hurnus were not such as to beget a spirit of inquiry in their regard. So if a variety of races, speaking various languages, went by the name of *Hurnu we should not be surprised. The dominant Hsiung-nus can well have been Turkish, and yet the scholars who hold that some of the Hsiung-nu were Mongols and some Iranians can well be right. The determination of the racial and linguistic composition of the *Hurnus is perhaps a greater problem than that of ancient India, and one which we can only touch upon here.

The general opinion seems to be that the Hūṇa of Sanskrit literature were the Hephthalites, and this is the opinion expressed by Maenchen-Helfen.[2] If so, who were the Hephthalites? They are usually believed to have had a white or very light complexion. But Wolfram Eberhard astutely inferred from negative evidence—that the Chinese did not mention that the Hephthalites were blond, blue-eyed, with a Roman nose or heavy beard, as they had described some other peoples,—that the Hephthalites must have had a more Mongoloid or Turkish appearance.[3] And the anonymous author of the article on "Ephthalites or White Huns" in the *Encyclopedia Britanica* (1950) says some scholars explain the names *Toramāṇa* and *Jauvla* as Turkish.

To return to the Tibetan term *Hor*, there is no doubt that the Tibetans refer to the Turks as *Hor*. But was that the first meaning of the word? Jäschke stated that it formerly referred to a Mongol; but now, in central Tibet, to the people living near the Tengri-nor (G-nam-mtsʻo); and, in western Tibet, to the Turks. As long as we do not

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[1] The reconstructed form is used to avoid the continual repetition of the string of names regarded as descended from it.

[2] Op. cit. (p. 156 above, n. 2), pp. 230—231, and in recent conversation; also of Helmut Hoffmann: "Daß man diese Hūṇa unter ihrem König Toramāṇa mit den Hephtaliten identifizierte, ist wohl hauptsächlich auf Grund chronologischer Erwägungen geschehen, da man in dieser Gegend und zu der betr. Zeit sonst nichts von einem in Frage kommenden Fremdvolk weiß. Aber sicher ist dies alles nicht..." (personal communication).

[3] "Die Kultur der alten zentral- und westasiatischen Völker nach chinesischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie* 73 (1941), p. 257.

have a Tibetan lexicon by which we can trace changes of meaning through the centuries we shall be at a loss.

At present our knowledge of the peoples of early Central Asia comes almost entirely from classical and Chinese sources. The latter accounts are confined almost exclusively to eastern Tibet and its northern border. We have no accounts of the Hor in Tibet. Until we do, we shall not have a satisfactory history of the peoples of Central Asia. It is not the intention here to make an exhaustive study of the problem, but rather to point to some problems within the area of Tibet. Until we have more information upon them, we cannot give a definitive answer as to who the Hūṇa were.

East of Lake Mānasasarovara, in Nari Khorsum (*Mṅa-ris bskor gsum*), is the district of Hundes; or Hundes is another name for the province. It is obviously from Hūṇa-deśa, as others have remarked.[1]

A large area in approximately the geographical center of Tibet is called *Hor* or *Hor Province* on modern maps, "for some unknown reason" remarked F. W. Thomas,[2] who has probably investigated the ethnography of ancient Tibet more than any other scholar in recent times.

About 500 miles SE of the center of the Hor Province, and 100 miles N of Lhasa is the Tengri-nor (G-nam-mtsʻo), where Jäschke said people live who are now called *Hor*. And Rockhill noted that a region north of this lake is known as *Nub Hor* "Western Hor."[3]

The wall surrounding the tomb of Ãdus-sroṅ, near Ãpʻyoṅ-rgyas in the valley of the Yar-Kluṅs (Yar-lung), was built by the Hor community, Dpa-bo Gtsug lag stated in his history (A.D. 1564), according to Giuseppe Tucci.[4]

And on the Sino-Tibetan borderland, about 500 miles E and a little N of Tengri-nor are the five Hor states on the Nyag-chu or upper Ya-lung.[5]

I have found no information on how *Hūṇa* or *Hor*, usually applied to Turks or Mongols, came to designate these districts or communities.

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[1] Giuseppe Tucci refers to Hun-deś as the "land of wool," without explanation (*Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas*, New York, p. 152). I only know of Urdu *ūn* (in devanagari, *ūṇ* or *un*) which resembles *Hun-* of *Hun-deś*, and Tucci's explanation looks like a bit of folk etymology.

[2] *Nam*, p. 14.

[3] William Woodville Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas* (New York, 1891), p. 44 n.

[4] *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome, 1950), p. 6.

[5] For these states see Thomas, *Nam*, p. 15, n. 5; p. 83. The correct spelling of the names of these states is most likely *Kʻaṅ-gsar, Ma-zur, Brag-mon, Ḥbe-rim, Gri-ḥtu* or *Gri-tu*.

Did Tibetan *Hor* come to be used, like Skr. *Mleccha*, for any foreigner? Or do, or did, Turks live in all these areas or dominate them at one time? Perhaps the terms are late and of no significance for the early history of the *Hurnu. But there are no great natural barriers to have prevented the people of Hor province from migrating to the sources of the Indus and down that river and up its tributary, the Zanskar, to where I have placed the ancient Hūṇa in the northwest; or to have prevented the Hūṇa from migrating later to Hūṇadeśa or Hor province. Until we know more of the origin of the terms and the people who live or lived there, our history of the *Hurnu will be incomplete.

We may, however, make a small contribution to the *Hūrnu question in Tibet by pointing out that the easternmost Hor, those of the Hor States, are not Turks or Mongols at the present time, but people speaking a Burmish language that is, in some respects, much more archaic than Burmese itself.

This Hor language of the eastern frontier would be of prime importance for the reconstruction of Burmish if our vocabulary were not so very limited. For the only published vocabulary we have of this Hor language is that recorded by Brian Houghton Hodgson.[1] Professor R. A. Stein of Paris has kindly sent me his short vocabularies of the Hor dialect of Taofu-Tautong-Geśitsa from a lady born in Taofu and living with a Chinese husband, and of the same dialect from a Tibetan born in Rongbatsa and speaking Chinese; but unfortunately the vocabularies are extremely short and more useful to the traveler than to the comparative grammarian and I have been able to use them only occasionally to rectify some of Hodgson's forms or indicate the probable phoneme. Hodgson's vocabulary came from Tango (*Kraṅ-gu, *Graṅ-gu?),[2] capital of the Hor state of Brag-mon.

Because of the proximity of the Hor language to Tibetan, the former has borrowed some words from one or more Tibetan dialects: Hor *dźʿaṅ-u* green, Tib. *ldźaṅ-gu*; *stak* tiger, Tib. *stag* (**-k* is dropped in native Hor words; see below); *lamotśʿen* elephant, Tib. *glaṅ-po-tśʿe*, *glaṅ-tśʿen* (*tśʿe* is not the Hor word for "great" and *-n* is a late Bodish adjective ending not found in native Hor words); *sgaṅa* egg, Tib. *sgo-ṅa* (compound);[3] *me-to* flower, Tib. *me-tog* (compound); *mar-nak* oil, Tib. *mar* "butter," colloquial "oil," *nag* black (**-k* dropped in Hor; probably also **-r* in native words); *spu* body hair,

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[1] "Sifán and Hórsók Vocabularies," *JASB* 22 (1853), 142–151.

[2] See Thomas, *Nam*, pp. 83, 85.

[3] Compounds with the two elements in the same order are not likely to occur in two different languages unless one of them is a borrower.

Tib. *spu*; Taofu *gu* tent, Tib. *gur* (artifact);[1] Taofu *dźya t'ab* fireplace, < Tib. *rgya t'ab*.

Of course a large part of the Hor vocabulary belongs to the word stock common to both Tibetan and Burmese and this does not assist one in classifying the language more precisely. The bases for the classification of Hor as Burmish, therefore, are certain Hor words characteristic of Burmish: Hor *r'ava* village, Burmese *rwa*; Hor *p'ru p'ru* white (reduplication), Bur. *p'ru*, Phunoi, Akha *p'iu* (following Tableau 7);[2] Hor *tś'e* goat, Bur. *tś'it*, Nyi *ts'i*, Ulu *ts'yi* (12.1); Hor *sgre* star, Bur. *kray*, Nyi *ke* (5.1). I have added the nearest Lolo comparison to show that Hor is generally closer linguistically to Burmese than to Lolo; thus for the first comparison, that for "village", I have not found a corresponding Lolo form; in the second comparison, Hor preserves the Middle Burmese *-r-*, which has become *i* in Tonkin Lolo; in the third, Hor seems to have the palatal affricate[3] found in Burmese, while Nyi has the dental affricate;[4] in the fourth, Hor preserves medial *-r-* which is lost in Lolo.

The importance of Hor for Sino-Tibetan comparative grammar is that it is more archaic in some respects than Middle Burmese (written Burmese) and sometimes even more than Old Burmese: Hor *r'ya* hundred, O. Bur. *rya*, Bur. *ra*, Lolopho *hyo* < **hra* (1.21; p. 220); Hor *r'iee* eight, O. Bur. *het* (probably for *hret* < **hryat*), Bur. *hratś*, Nyi *he* (p. 220). Hodgson's aspiration of the *r* initial of these words is confirmed by the *h* in the corresponding Lolo forms. Hor is of particular value for the restoration of sibilant prefixes lost in Burmese and Lolo. Thus we know that the *z-* of Hor *zne* "seven" represents a Tibeto-Burmic prefix because we find a sibilant prefixed in Rgyarong *-śnes*, Kukish **s-Nis*. And we may infer from Hor *sgre* "star" that Bur. *kray* came from **skray*, which would form a connecting link with Tib. *skar-*. And it seems likely that Bur. *k'rǎ* "white ant" comes from *sk'rǎ* because we find Hor *sk'ro* "ant."

The limited data on the Hor language is only sufficient to show the phonetic equations for a few important phonemes, which it is believed will make recognition of parallels easier when more complete recordings are available.

[1] Artifacts are likely to be borrowed.

[2] Lolo forms are from my "Phonétique historique des langues lolo," *T'oung Pao* 41 (1952), 191—229, and references are to it; thus, 12. 1. below refers to Tableau 12, entry no. 1.

[3] Hodgson's reliability in distinguishing dental and palatal affricates is doubtful, however.

[4] It is uncertain what the primitive initial was, as stated in the article on Lolo, p. 218.

Table 1. Final *-*a* (Voc. 1, 2)[1]

	Meaning	Tibetan	Burmese	Hor	
1	village	. . .	*rwa*	*rʻava*	
2	father	*'a-pa, 'a-pʻa*	*'ă-pʻă, 'ă-bʻă*	*a-pa*	
3	mother	*'a-ma*	. . .	*a-ma*	
4	fish	*nya*	*ṅà*	*hya*	Luśei *ṅʻa* < **ṅʻyà*
5	I	*ṅa*	*ṅa*	*ṅa*	
6	hundred	*brgya*	*rya*	*rʻya*	
7	arrow	*mda*	*hmrà*	*lda*	Dwagspa *mla*, TB **mlda*
8	salt	*tsʻwa*	*tśʻà*	*tśʻa*	
9	not	*ma*	*mă*	*ma*	
	*-*a* =	*a*	*a*	*a*	

[6]The form in the Burmese column is Old Burmese.

In entry no. 4, the Hor form *hya* "fish" confirms the correctness of the Luśei aspiration. The initial *h* is probably actually a surd *ṅ*.

In no. 7, Hor *lda* "arrow" and Dwagspa *mla* form connecting links between Tibetan *mda* and Bur. *hmrà*, although we cannot yet determine the conditions under which **l* sometimes became *r* in Burmese.

The above equation for *-*a* is only a general rule. We shall find some exceptions at the end of the discussion on Hor.

Table 2. *-*i*, *-*i*- (Voc. 4, 14)

	Meaning	Tibetan	Burmese	Hor	
1	day	*nyi-ma*	*ne'*	*nye-le*	(*ṅa* sun)
2	blood	. . .	*swè*	*sye*	
3	four	*bźi* < **bźli*	*lè*	*le-*	("4" in "40"; *hla* "4")
4	water	. . .	*re*		(*hra'* water, river)
5	two	*gnyis*	(*hnatś*)	*ṅe*	(*na-* "2" in "20")
6	seven	. . . .	(*kʻŭ-natś*)	*zne*	Kukish **sNis*
7	name	*miṅ*	*-maṅ*	*smen*	
8	goat	. . .	*tśʻit*	*tśʻe*	
	*-*i*- =	*i*	*-e, -i-, -a-*	*e (a)*	

[5]Taofu *ne*, with the initial we should expect.

[1] The corresponding table numbers in "The Vocalism of Sino-Tibetan," *JAOS* 60 (1940), 302–337; 61 (1941), 18–31, are given so that the reader may find the phonetic equivalences of the Hor vowels in the principal literary Sino-Tibetan languages and in Luśei, as a representative of Kukish. For bibliography of Sino-Tibetan comparative grammar, see *Studia Linguistica* 6 (1952), 92–93 nn. or *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 357 n.

*-*i* > Bur. -*e*; but *-*i*- = Bur. -*i*- except before primitive gutturals, and sometimes before primitive dentals and sibilants, where it becomes -*a*- with palatalization of the final consonant to -*tś* or -*ń*.[1]

Hor *e* <**i* is probably not standard *e*, as the Hor forms with *a*, to the right of the Hor column, indicate. The vowel is probably open (*ë*) or a mid high mixed vowel.

Table 3. Final Consonants (Problems,[2] pp. 137ff.)

	Meaning	Tibetan	Burmese	Hor		
1	hand	*lag-pa*	*lak*	*l'a*		
2	hog	*(p'ag)*	*wak*	*va'*		
3	black	*nag-po*	*nak*	*nya*	*nya* (redupl.)	
4	six	*drug*	*k'rok*	*tś'o*		
5	below	*hhog*	*'ok*	*wo*		
6	eight	*brgyad*	*hratś*	*r'iec*		Lušei *riat*
7	kill	*bsad*	*sat*	*-še*		
8	goat	. . .	*tś'it*	*tś'e*		
9	three	*gsum*	*sùṁ*	*su*		
10	round	*zlum-po*	*lùṁ*	*lo*	*lo* (redupl.)	
11	snake	*sbrul*	*mrwe*	*p'ri*		
		*-*C*[3] = -*C*	*C*[4]	*O*		

[2]Witten *váh*, incorrect for *vá̱h*. Rongbatsa *wă*.
[4]Taofu *tśu*.
[6]Taofu *ryä*.

Nos. 1—3 above show medial *-*a*- preserved in Hor before *-*k*, and nos. 6 and 7 indicate it became *e* before *-*t*, although Stein's *ä* (note to 6 above) suggests that it is an open *e*.

Nos. 9 and 10 above show final *-*m* dropped in Hor, and it is likely that Hor dropped all absolute final nasals. For Hodgson's *ryi* "horse," Taofu *rᵊyi*, probably comes from -*raṅ* found in Burmic and in Rgyarong *bo-ro'* (*-*aṅ* > Rgya. -*o*). Then the -*n* we find in Hor *smen* "name" (Table 2 above, no. 7) would be a nasalization of the vowel from the initial and not from the final nasal. But a nasal final may be preserved in Hor before a postposition: Hor *krum-bo* "horn", Barish *gruṅ*, although assimilated here toward the labial initial of the postposition.

The loss of final consonants of all kinds is paralleled by northern Lolo.

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[1] See "Vocalism" II, Table 14.
[2] "Problems in Sino-Tibetan Phonetics," *JAOS* 64 (1944).
[3] C, consonant.
[4] Except *-*l*, *-*r*, *-*s*; see "Problems" (n. 2 above).

*-w- > Hor -y-
Magari *gwa* bird, Hor *gyo*.
Bur. *swa* tooth, Hor *syo*.
Bur. *swè* blood, Hor *sye*.

*-y- > Hor -0-
Bur. *myak* eye, Hor *mo*.
Tib. *skyur-po* sour, Hor *sgu sgo* bitter (redupl.)

It seems that **a* > Hor *o* after -*y*-, primitive or secondary: Bur. *myak* eye, Hor *mo*; Magari *gwa* bird, Hor *gyo*; Bur. *swà* tooth, Hor *syo*; Tib. *rna-ba* ear, Bur. *nà*, Hor *nyo*. But we find exceptions and I suspect that Hodgson's final -*a* in Hor is farther back than standard, and hence that the fluctuation between -*a* and -*o* for *-*a* in his vocabulary is purely accidental.

Enough has been presented here to show that the basic vocabulary of Hor is Burmish, and that Hor forms one more link in the series of Burmish languages extending in a broken chain from the Hsi-hsias formerly in Tangut,[1] to the Hors and Lolos of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, to the Lolos of Tonkin, to the Lolos of upper Burma and the peoples speaking languages of the Northern Unit of the Burma Branch of Burmish, and on down to southern Burma where Burmese and Arakanese are spoken.

But while we may say very definitely that the basic vocabulary of Hor is Burmish, Hodgson's and Stein's vocabularies and phrases are insufficient to say that Hor has no Turkish morphology, and I do not feel warranted to say from Hodgson's description of one Hor-pa[2] that the Hors have no physical characteristics similar to those of the Turks. That must be left for further investigation.

Hrṣī, 1.197; 9.4.
Herambaka, 2.147.
Haihaya, 9.1. On the tail and in the W (suggesting they came from NW frontier, or that some remained there).
Hor, see *Hūṇa*.
Hyarha, 3.19.
Hyasu, 1.218.

[1] Berthold Laufer demonstrated that the ancient Hsi-hsia language was closely related to the Lolo languages in his article on "The Si-hia Language," *T'oung Pao* 17 (1916), 1–126.
[2] Op. cit. (p. 162, n. 1), p. 138.

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* This bibliography includes only work utilized, or which has influenced decisions reached here, but which has not been explicitly acknowledged in footnotes; or it includes work cited frequently enough to make it economical to list here. Works cited by Nundo Lal Dey have not intentionally been included, as the reader may find them in Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* under the name of each place.

Abbreviations of works frequently referred to: *Kali Age*, Pargiter's *Kali Age*; Kirfel, Kirfel's *Kosmographie*; MRK, Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, and Datta's *History*; NLD, Dey; Pargiter, Pargiter's *Tradition*; Rang., Rangacharya; Ray., Raychaudhuri.

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Map 1

Ethnographic-Linguistic

Map 2

Opposing Forces in Epic War

The concentration of Pāṇḍava forces about the central Ganges-Yamunā doab, surrounded by hostile nations, is apparent from Map 2.

But the array of outlying supporters of the Pāṇḍavas looks like a hodge-podge, and perhaps it is to some degree, because in revising the Kuru epic various native peoples were thrown in pell-mell as Pāṇḍava followers. One may be very sceptical of the southern Dravidians, for example, taking any part whatever in the war.

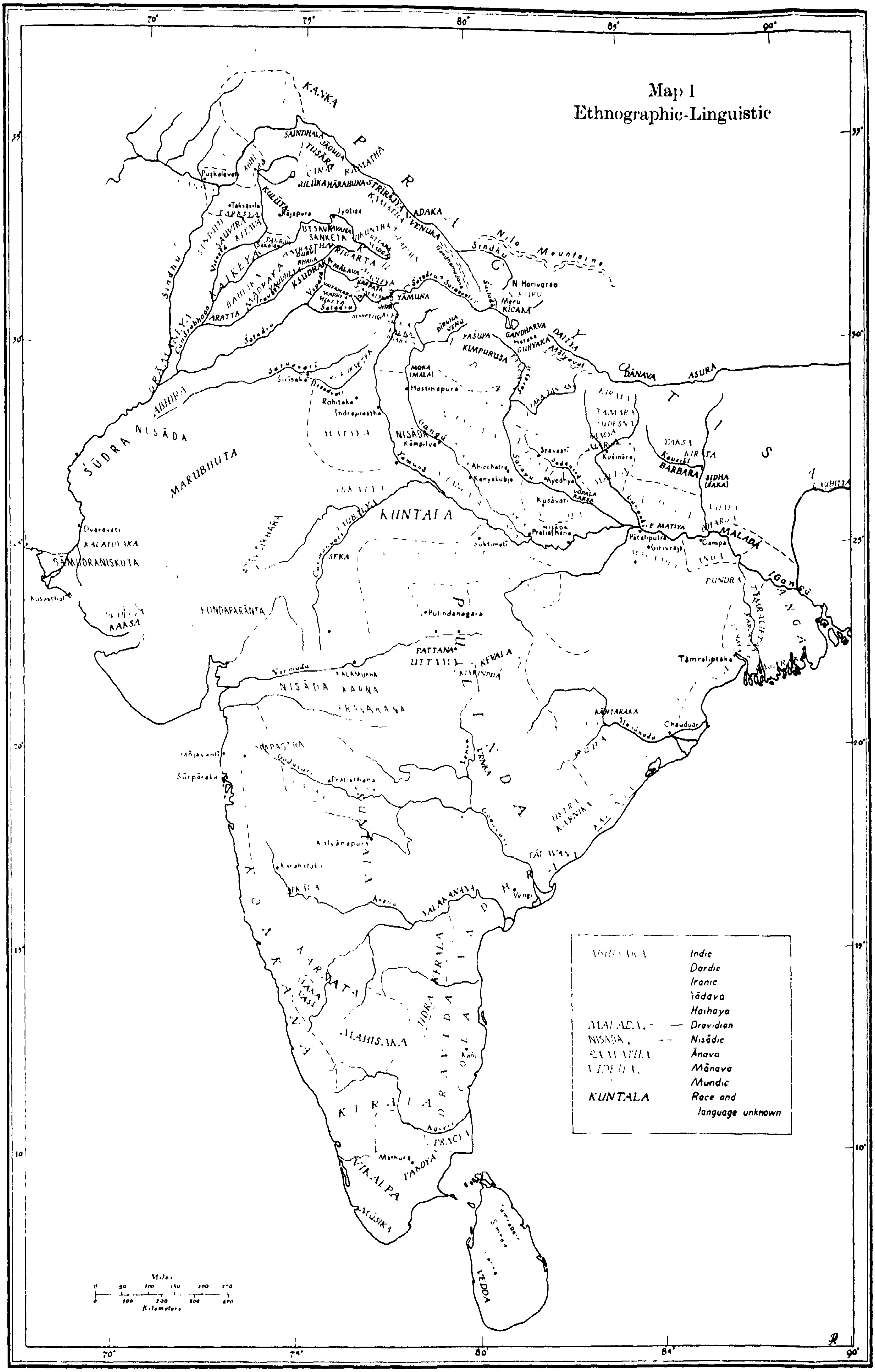
And yet the scattered Pāṇḍava support about the fringe often does make sense. The influence of the Pañcālas had probably extended over some of the Matsyas, Paṭaccaras, Taṅgaṇas, and Kirātas, and so we find these people listed in both armies.

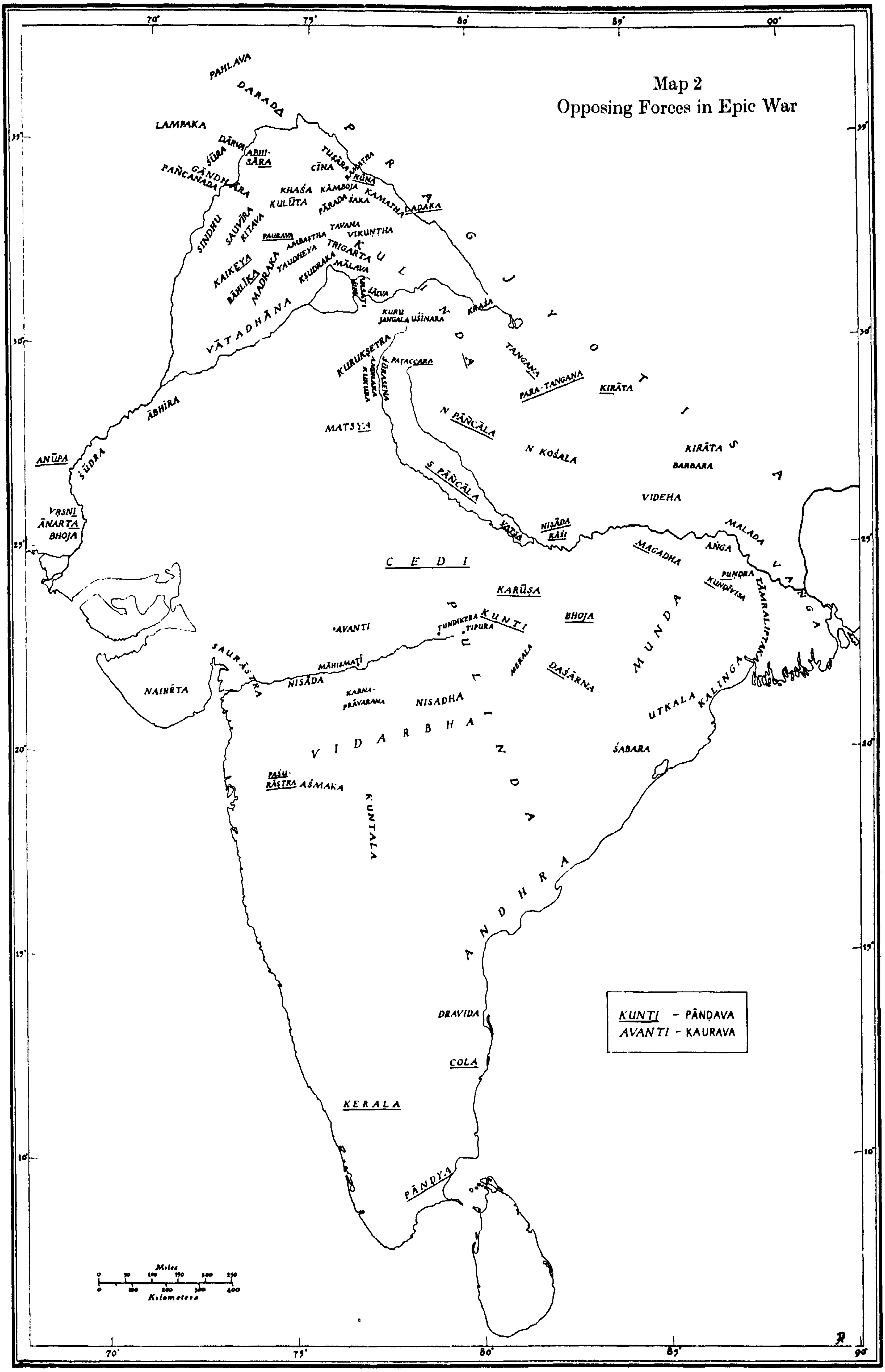
The Eastern Ānavas had been subjecting and pushing back the Mundic peoples and it is not unlikely that some of the latter were in rebellion against their Ānava overlords, and hence we find Puṇḍras and Kuṇḍīviṣas listed in both armies, and the Sabaras in the Pāṇḍava camp.

The Bāhlīkas had been held in contempt by the Kauravas, as by Karṇa, and some of the Bāhlīkas may have joined the Pāṇḍavas in a vain hope for better treatment. The Hūṇas were alien to the surrounding Ānavas, Yādavas, and West Himalayans, and they may have joined the Pāṇḍavas; but the spelling Hūṇa is far from certain where it occurs among names of Pāṇḍava supporters.

Whatever the Pauravas had been in vedic times, they appear to have been the chief Aryan or aryanized country in the northwest at the time of the rebellion, and their influence had probably extended over part of Kaikeya and of Abhisāra.

Since the southern Dravidians had been accepted as something like equals because of their higher state of civilization, and since the Aryans had no immediate designs on their territory, the southern Dravidians may have given moral support to the Pāṇḍavas.


Map 1
Ethnographic-Linguistic
KANKA
SAINDHAVA
TUSĀRA
CINA
ULŪKA
HĀRAHUNA
STRIRĀJYA
KULŪTA
VENUKA
UTSAVA
SANKETA
TRIGARTA
KAIKEYA
MADRAKA
ARATTA
KSUDRAKA
MĀLAVA
YAMUNA
KIMPURUSA
GANDHARVA
GUHYAKA
DĀNAVA
ASURA
ABHIRA
ŚŪDRA
NISĀDA
MARUBHUTA
KUNTALA
Dvāravati
Kusasthal
Taksasila
Rājapura
Jyotisa
Hastinapura
Rohitaka
Indraprastha
Kāmpilya
Ahicchatra
Kanyakubja
Ayodhya
Śrāvasti
Kusāvati
Kuśināra
Pratisthana
Pātaliputra
Girivraja
Campā
Suktimati
BARBARA
SIDHA
(ŚAKA)
LAUHITYA
MALADA
Gangā
PUNDRA
Tāmraliptaka
Pulindanagara
PATTANA
Narmada
NISĀDA KARNA
Vaijayanti
Sūrpāraka
Pratisthana
Godāvari
Kalyānapura
Vengi
Chauduār
KANTARAKA
Mahānadi
PRACYA
Mathura
PANDYA
MŪSIKA
MAHISAKA
VEDDA
Indic
Dardic
Iranic
Yādava
Haihaya
MALADA
Dravidian
NISĀDA
Nisādic
Ānava
Mānava
Mundic
KUNTALA
Race and
language unknown
Miles
Kilometers



Map 2
Opposing Forces in Epic War